INTER-AMERICAN ACQUAINTANCES

BY

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER

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M C M X V

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY

DR. RÓMULO S. NAÓN

FIRST AMBASSADOR FROM ARGENTINA TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED AS A SLIGHT RECOGNITION OF HIS PATRIOTISM IN PUBLIC SERVICE

PREFACE

THIS little book makes no claim to completeness; its preparation by the author in the few spare moments of his life as a railway employé may perhaps excuse any fault of historical diction or exhaustiveness. It is intended to be suggestive rather than directly instructive,—to stimulate perhaps a few of those now engaged in studying South American history in its various phases in our colleges and universities to elaborate its material into historical or economic studies of permanent value. It aims to furnish proofs for the two following statements:—

(1) That the moral and material aid and example of the United States were a factor in the Latin-American wars of independence;

(2) That during that time, as well as previously, much was spoken and written by both North and South Americans which forecasted the Pan-American movement, embodying the fundamental ideas on which the Pan-American Union is based.

The author wishes to state his gratitude to Professor A. C. Coolidge, of Harvard University; to Professor James Bardin, of the University of Virginia; and to Professor Beverly W. Bond, of the University of

Indiana, who have furnished helpful suggestions after reading the proof. The authorities of the Library of Congress at Washington and of the New York Public Library have been most helpful, as well as those at the Public Library of Charleston, S. C. To the Misses Poor, of Brookline, Mass., the author's debt of personal gratitude is so great that their thoughtfulness in placing thier rich stores of Latin-American information at his disposal is but a fresh evidence of the loving care of the kindest of aunts, who first inspired the author with a love for the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

The many historical works published by Latin-American scholars have been a constant inspiration to the author in his work; the happy memory of Agustín Alvarez, of Argentina, and the keen inspiration of Aníbal Maúrtua and Luis Antonio Eguiguren, of Peru, to mention but a few of many, have been fresh incentives in the study of the development of Inter-American Acquaintances. To Henry L. Janes, esq., formerly of the United States Diplomatic Service and now meeting with well-deserved success in other lines at Montevideo, the author renews his appreciation for several constructive hints in the preparation of this little book.

C. L. C.

South American Agency of the
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CHAPTER I.

Beginning of Pan-American Relations

IN the year 1648 Governor Peter Stuyvesant of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, now New York, obtained permission from his home government of Holland for his colony to trade with Brazil,—a trade which has never since been interrupted. In 1698 the learned Boston divine, Cotton Mather, notes in his diary that he is studying Spanish, and that he has prepared a religious book in Spanish for distribution in Spanish America. In 1748 Scott, Pringle & Scott, of Madeira, writing to John and William Brown, Benjamin Gerrish, Jr., and Samuel Curwin, of Salem, advise them that Madeira had been licensed to export "fish and other foreign provisions to Brazil, which in course will open a larger and more beneficial commerce between this and your colony." Five years before this, in 1743, the sloop "Recruit," belonging to Henry Taggart, of Newport, Rhode Island, traded to Surinam. In 1774 Captains David Smith and Gamaliel Collins, of Truro, Massachusetts, made the first cruise from the United States to the Falkland Islands, and in the next year Capt. Uriah

Bunker returned to his native Nantucket from a voyage to the Brazil banks. These men were whalers, and it was to such as they that Edmund Burke alluded when he spoke as follows in the British Parliament on March 22nd, 1775: "Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry. Whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil." It is almost more than a coincidence that Capt. Uriah Bunker returned to Nantucket on April 19th, 1775, the day of the battles of Lexington and of Concord. One hundred years later the Emperor of Brazil sailed from that country on an April morning for the United States to aid in celebrating the centenary of their independence.

These whalers began to attract some international attention. On the thirteenth of October, 1778, the American commissioners in France, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, wrote to Monsieur de Sartine:—

> The English last year carried on a very valuable whale fishery off the cost of Brazil and off the River Plate. . . . . They have this year about seventeen vessels in this fishery, which have all sailed in the months of September and October. All the officers and almost all the men belonging to these seventeen vessels are Americans from Cape Cod and Nantucket in Massachusetts, ex-

cepting two or three from Rhode Island and perhaps one from Long Island.

A list of twenty American captains of British whalers, sixteen of whom were from Nantucket, as obtained from the officers of three of the whalers that had been captured by French cruisers, was added to the communication. Adams and Franklin proposed sending an American frigate to destroy this whaling fleet, but nothing was ever done. In the next year, on September 13th, 1779, John Adams wrote to the same effect regarding these American-manned vessels in the River Plate whale fishery to the council of Massachusetts Bay, adding that all the officers and men were Americans.

Let us turn to the other portion of Latin America for a moment. In 1767 permission had been granted to the English colonies in North America to export rice to the Spanish colonies;—and it should be remembered in this connection that one quarter of the signers of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, the first of its kind in the New World, were merchants or shipowners. Many of them doubtless knew or had heard of the latent wealth and growing importance of the Americans to the southward. One of the signers was lost at sea during the Revolution on a voyage to the West Indies.

Neither was the west coast of South America ignorant of the United States. In the year 1775 we find the famous Peruvian savant, Cosme Bueno, re-

ferring to a work on smallpox published in Boston in 1720, probably written by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, and first printed in English by Benjamin Franklin's brother James. The Peruvian scholar, Luis Antonio Eguiguren, who has studied the history of his country so carefully and minutely, informs me of another link in the chain. They had great doings in Peru when Amat y Junient was Viceroy; and once some learned poet of Lima, so Eguiguren tells me, stated that the university ceremonies to please the Viceroy were no such great extravagance after all, for did they not do things on a far more elaborate scale in the English colonies in North America? Now this can only refer to the "Pietas et Gratulatio" published by Harvard College in sonorous Latin in 1762, when George the Third had been crowned King of England. For this is the only occasion in our early college life commemorating a royal event to which the Viceroy's apologist could have referred.

Even before the Treaty of Versailles (September 3, 1783) had been signed, establishing by international agreement the independence of the first of the New World Republics to gain its freedom, Aranda, the Prime Minister of Spain, addressed the King, Charles III, in a Memorial (1783) as follows:—

> The independence of the English colonies has just been recognized, and this is food for thought and fear, in my opinion. This Federal Republic has been born a pigmy, so to speak, and has

> needed the aid of States as powerful as Spain and France to attain her independence. The time will come when she will be a giant, and even a colossus, much to be feared in those vast regions. Then she will forget the benefits that she received from both powers and will only think of aggrandizing herself. Her first step will be to get possession of the Floridas to dominate the Gulf of Mexico. These fears are, Sire, only too well founded and will be realized within a few years if other more disastrous events do not previously occur in our Americas. A wise policy admonishes us to forestall these threatening evils. . . . .

Aranda further proposes, as a means of avoiding the loss of the Spanish colonies, that Spain should withdraw from all except Cuba and Puerto Rico, and that three kingdoms should be created, united to that of Spain, the King of Spain to take the title of Emperor over all his dominions,—a curious forerunner of the modern "Imperial Federation System" of Great Britain.

It will be readily seen, therefore, that the influence and example of the United States of America on the Spanish colonies of that continent was feared by the Prime Minister of Spain twenty-seven years before the Spanish-American War of Independence broke out in 1810. Clearer proof could scarcely be needed of the early influence of the United States of America on the destinies of that part of the Continent which was then under the Spanish Crown.

On May 25th, 1783, Juan Manuel de Cagigal

(1739-1811), then Lieutenant-General of the island of Cuba for his most Catholic Majesty Charles the Third of Spain and the Indies, addressed the following letter to George Washington:—

> Most Excellent Sir:
>
> The present circumstances have not permitted me, as the war is over and I am returning to Spain, to visit those famous countries and to have the honor of knowing the Fabius of these times as I had intended. Will your Excellency allow me to do so by means of this letter, placing myself at your orders and at the same time commending to you my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco de Miranda, who has just sailed for Philadelphia for that very purpose; his character, education and other qualities have always particularly attracted me, and I hope that they will likewise gain for him your appreciation and esteem, for which I shall be extremely grateful.
>
> I am a constant admirer of your Excellency's heroic virtues, and I shall therefore, have a particular pleasure in serving you; pray command me at your will. May Our Lord guard your noble life many years and keep your glorious deeds immortal.

This Francisco de Miranda was an enthusiastically consistent Pan-American from the day that he was born in luxury at Caracas to the night when he died in a slimy dungeon at Cadiz. On pursuing his correspondence one is struck with the constant repetition of the phrase, "Nuestras Americas"—Our

Americas — expecially when he is planning concerted action with those countries distant from his native Venezuela, as Argentina and Chile. The differences in language were no barrier to his broad ideas and ideals; he urged and longed for the coöperation of Brazil and Haiti in his far-seeing plans. Miranda's Pan-American education may be considered as partly responsible for all this. He told President Ezra Stiles, of Yale, that he studied law a year or more at a college in the City of Mexico after his education in Venezuela, and he attended lectures at Yale University in July, 1784. So far as can be ascertained he was the first South American to study at a university in the United States of America. It is to be greatly hoped that, with the praiseworthy attention which is now being bestowed at Yale on Latin-American matters, that a Francisco de Miranda scholarship for travel and study in Latin America may be opened in the near future at that university.

Professor Robertson has so clearly detailed for us in his excellent biographical monograph on Miranda the salient facts of that great patriot's career that it only remains to be stated here that he met, talked with and was inspired by George Washington; and that, while in the United States from the spring of 1783 to December, 1784, he seemed to have been more or less friendly with Hamilton, Franklin, Dickinson, Greene, Moultrie, Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, Livingston (who afterwards bought Louisiana

from France for the United States of America), Duer, Baron Steuben, Governor Bowdoin, Izard, and William Floyd. We shall come back to Miranda later.

It must have been about 1785, that Charles Brockden Brown, the first American author, sketched the plans of several epics, on the discovery of America and the conquests of Peru and Mexico. No vestige of them now remains.

In 1785 we find the following in the *Political Herald and Review* of London in an article on South America: "The flame which was kindled in North America, as was foreseen, has made its way into the American dominions of Spain. The example of North America is the great subject of discourse and the grand object of emulation."

How true this was may be seen from the following extract from a dispatch from John Adams, then United States Minister to England, to John Jay, who was then Secretary of the Confederation of the United States of America for foreign affairs, from London, dated May 28th, 1786:—

> An agent from South America was not long since arrested at Rouen in France, and has not since been heard of. Another agent, who was his associate, as I have been told, is here and has applied to Government for aid. Government, not in a condition to go to war with Spain, declines to have anything to do with the business. . . . .
>
> You are probably better informed than I can pretend to be of the disturbances which took place

in the Spanish provinces of South America, during the late war, of the pacification of them, and of the complaints and discontent which now prevails. It is a fixed opinion in many minds here, that a revolution in South America would be agreeable to the United States, and it is depended on that we shall do nothing to prevent it, if we do not exert ourselves to promote it. . . . .

Not six months later an incident occurred which we shall describe in the words of one of the greatest of early Pan-Americans, Thomas Jefferson, who was then United States Minister to France. He wrote to Secretary Jay from Marseilles on May 4th, 1787, as follows:—

My journey in this part of the country has procured me information which I will take the liberty of communicating to Congress. In October last I received a letter dated Montpellier, October 2, 1786, announcing to me that the writer was a foreigner who had a matter of very great consequence to communicate to me and desired I would indicate the channel through which it might pass safely. I did so. I received, soon after, a letter in the following words, omitting all formal parts:—

"I am a Brazilian, and you know that my unhappy country groans under a most dreadful slavery, which becomes more intolerable since the era of your glorious independence — the barbarous Portuguese sparing nothing to make us unhappy for fear that we should follow your steps. And as we know that these usurpers against the laws of nature and humanity have no other thoughts than

of coercing us, we are determined to follow the striking example which you have given us; and consequently to break our chains and bring to life liberty, which is now dead and oppressed by physical force, which is the only power Europeans have over America. But as Spain will not fail to join Portugal, it is necessary that a nation should join us, and notwithstanding the advantages we have for defence, we cannot do it, or at least it would not be prudent for us to run any hazard, without being sure of success. Your nation, Sir, is, we think, that which should most suitably assist us, because it is she that has given us the example; and also because nature has made us inhabitants of the same continent, and has consequently constituted us, in some sort, countrymen. We are ready, on our part, to furnish all the funds that may be necessary, and show, at all times, our gratitude towards our benefactors. This is the substance of my intention and it is to fulfill this commission that I am now in France, as I could not do it in America without exciting some suspicions. It is for you to judge if they can be realized, and in case you should wish to consult your nation on the subject, I am enabled to give you all the information that you may think necessary."

I have the honor to be, etc.,

THOS. JEFFERSON.

Montpellier, 21 Nov., 1786.

In this year, 1787, there was published a two-volume work at Madrid, entitled "Diccionario Geografico Historico de las Indias Occidentales o Ameri-

ca," written by a captain of the Royal Spanish Guards named Antonio de Alcedo y Bexarano, which was destined to enjoy a considerable circulation and influence in the Spanish-American colonies. The accounts of the United States of America in this book are complete and unusually accurate; it is a minute gazetteer of North as well as South America. In Vol. II, pages 104, 105, we read a long account of the Revolutionary War of the United States of America, the exhortation of 1774 to the inhabitants of Boston being printed in full. The beginning of Alcedo's account of the events in Boston is worth quoting, in translation: "The severity of the British Parliament against Boston should make all the American provinces tremble; there now remains no other choice for them but imprisonment, fire, and the horrors of death or the yoke of a low and servile obedience; the time of an important revolution had arrived." One of the most interesting evidences of the influence of this geographical and historical dictionary of America was its use by those who promoted the Uruguayan Revolution of 1813, with particular reference to the famous "instructions" of that year.

On December 15th, 1787, Thomas Jefferson, who was still representing the United States of America at Paris, wrote as follows to William Carmichael, who was representing that country at Madrid:—

> I have been told that the cutting thro' the Isthmus of Panama, which the world has so often

> wished and supposed practicable, has at times been thought of by the Government of Spain, and that they once proceeded so far as to have a survey and examination made of the ground; but that the result was either impracticability or too great difficulty. Probably the Count de Campomanes or Don Ulloa can give you information on this head. I should be exceedingly pleased to get as minute details as possible on it, and even copies of the survey, reports, etc., if they could be obtained at a moderate expense. I take the liberty of asking your assistance in this.

A year before this, on November 13th, 1786, Jefferson had written to a member of the Academy of Sciences of France on this subject.

It is an extremely curious historical coincidence that three months before Jefferson wrote the foregoing dispatch, the "Columbia" and "Lady Washington" sailed, in September, 1787, from Boston for the west coast of South America, being the first United States vessels to go to that part of the world. They stopped at the island of Juan Fernandez, which the "Columbia" left on June 3rd, 1788, on account of the Spanish Royal Order of November 25th, 1692, which forbade foreign ships to navigate the South Seas without permission of Spain. It is not generally known that this, one of the most striking instances of a claim to exclusive navigation of a part of the open ocean, was not modified until October 28th, 1790, when by the Nootka Sound Treaty of that date it was modified

only as regarded England, this being the first express renunciation of Spain's ancient claim to exclusive sovereignty on the American shores of the Pacific Ocean and South Seas; it marked the beginning of the collapse of the Spanish colonial system. Three years later, in 1792, United States ships came to the Lobos Islands off the coast of Peru, and from that day to this the Stars and Stripes have played their part in the development of the Pacific coast of the Americas. It may be noted in this connection that as a matter of strict law, until the last Spanish possession on the Pacific coast, the fortress at Callao, surrendered on January 29th, 1826, less than a hundred years ago, these exclusive Spanish claims to maritime supremacy remained in force.

Spain had taken formal possession of Nootka Sound on March 14th, 1789,—a significant date in American history, for it aroused, even though in a measure indirectly, by the controversy and diplomatic correspondence that ensued between England and Spain, profound interest in the United States of America in the affairs of Spain and her colonies in the New World. From the beginning of the republic we had no more vital question of foreign affairs than that with this same country, and there are few problems which have more constantly engaged the attention of those charged with the foreign relations of the United States of America from 1789 to the present day than these Spanish American ones.

There is another point about this Nootka Sound settlement which deserves attention. Spain itself is situated between the 35th and 45th parallels of latitude, and by far the greater part of immigrants from Spain to America came from between the 38th and 45th of these parallels. Now there was almost no Spanish settlement ever made during colonial times south of the 40th parallel of south latitude, and South America between the 30th and 40th parallels was very thinly settled until about 1850. Nootka Sound was almost the only Spanish settlement in North America that had the climate, or lay in or above the latitudes of the northern half of Spain. Therefore the Spaniards settled very rarely where the climatic conditions were the same as those in the mother country. Consequently we find the customary effects taking place among Spaniards situated in countries far hotter than those in which they and their ancestors had lived; and the only Spanish colonies in which Spain was not even able to land an expeditionary force to reconquer them were those situated in a cool climate and temperate zone. These climatic influences have a profound bearing on the entire Latin-American revolutionary period with which we are about to deal; and it is not strange that in a city of the elevation and vigorous climate of Bogotá, we meet with the next striking instance of Pan-Americanism.

We should not, however, pass by an extract from a letter written in 1791 by the Jesuit father, Juan

Pablo Vizcardo y Guzman, a native of Arequipa in Peru, which reads as follows :—

> The valor with which the English colonies of America have fought for their liberty, which they gloriously enjoy, covers our indolence with shame; we have yielded to them the palm with which they have been the first to crown the New World by their sovereign independence.

It was also in 1791 that Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State of the United States of America, instructed David Humphreys, then U. S. Minister to Portugal to "procure for us all the information possible as to the strength, riches, resources, lights and disposition of Brazil."

We do not know how early in life the Colombian patriot, Antonio Nariño, began to read about the United States; but, to judge from the proceedings of his trial in 1794 for seditious practices, he had been for some time previously, to quote the words of Enrique Unana and Bermando Cifuentes in their testimony of July 25th of that year, "working in accordance with the constitution of Philadelphia." In Nariño's defence at this trial he refers to the laws and constitutions of the United States of America, and exclaims, "Oh Fatherland of the Franklins, of the Washingtons, of the Hancocks, and of the Adamses, who is not glad that they lived both for themselves and for us?" He alludes to our "Neighbors of the North," an expression he may possibly have drawn

from his translation in 1792 of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," which he circulated in Colombia in that year. Among Nariño's books were a summary of the Revolution of the United States of America, a compilation of the fundamental laws of that country, both in French,—the latter dedicated to Benjamin Franklin,—the Freeholder's monitor, and a Spanish-English dictionary in two volumes. He also had a portrait of Benjamin Franklin in his house as early as 1793. That Nariño's ideas were not confined to himself alone is shown in the charge against Doctor Luis de Raiux, a Frenchman who was also tried in 1794 in Colombia, that in April, 1793, in the house of Juan Dionisio Gamba, he persuaded those present with the utmost energy that it was time to throw off the yoke of despotism and form an independent republic on the model of that of Philadelphia. That city was then the capital of the only American republic.

So fearful were the Spanish authorities becoming of the spread of the influence of the United States of America in their American possessions that a royal order of May 18th, 1791, was issued forbidding the circulation of any kind of medals in the Indies which alluded to freedom of the Anglo-American colonies. It appears that this order had especial reference to certain medals struck to commemorate the independence of the United States, with the word "Libertad Americana" (American Liberty) engraved on them.

Let us return for a moment to Miranda. In 1795

commissioners from Mexico met him in Paris and held what was the prototype of all succeeding Pan-American congresses. As a result of their conference a remarkable paper was submitted to the British government advocating the coöperation of Great Britain and the United States in a movement to free Latin America. The ninth and tenth articles of this document relate to the project of an alliance between Latin America and the United States, breathing the spirit of mutual interest and aspirations out of which grew the Pan-American Union. It was doubtless alarm at such concerted movements, as the foregoing incident would indicate, that the Viceroy in Peru, Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, issued a decree in April, 1796, prohibiting the introduction into Peru of foreign newspapers, among which are more definitely specified English, French, and those of the United States of America, the decree declaring that those who received and read such periodicals shall be treated as disturbers of the public peace. A month before this Miranda had written as follows to General Henry Knox, the first Secretary of War of the United States of America:—

> I take the pen only to tell you that I live and that my sentiments for our dear Colombia, as well as for all my friends in that part of the world, have not changed in the least.

Before passing on to Miranda's Pan-American writings of the year 1794, we must not forget to

mention that on the ninteenth of August, 1797, Antonio Nariño declared to the Viceroy of New Granada that he had negotiated with one P. Conlon, of 64 North Front Street, Philadelphia, regarding buying arms there for the patriots. Thus Philadelphia continued to be the source of material aid as well as that of political inspiration in the New World. On February 17th, 1797, Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State of the United States of America, wrote as follows in an instruction to John Quincy Adams, who had been recently appointed United States Minister to Portugal, of which Brazil was then a colony:—

> Col. Humphreys was desired to gain, if practicable, some certain information of Brazil, although the usual policy of European nations, and particularly of Spain and Portugal, tends to the exclusion of foreign vessels from their American Colonies, yet so far as they depend on the United States for supplies of the articles most necessary to the planters and other inhabitants, either for goods for building, or for the exportation of their produce, a direct trade with us would evidently be most beneficial to them as well as to us. Spain, for instance, excludes our vessels unless furnished with licenses from her public agents here; the consequence is, that the colonists pay nearly two prices for their flour. At other times our flour is carried to Cadiz, and thence in Spanish vessels to the Colonies. In both cases the general interests of the colonists and of the mother country are sacrificed to the emolument of a few agents and monopolists.

> I do not know whether anything similar exists in the colonial regulations of Portugal. There has never been, as I have heard, any intercourse between the United States and Brazil, yet the climate and produce of at least a very large portion of that extensive country must be such as to render supplies of some species of provisions, particularly bread, as necessary to the inhabitants, as to those of the West India Islands. And hence I presume that those provisions, particularly flour, are transported hither from Portugal — flour made of American wheat. But we are too little acquainted with the trade, culture and wants of Brazil to form any just conclusions. The subject will warrant your attention.

Early in the year 1798 the Jesuit priest, Juan Pablo Vicardo y Guzman, whom we have mentioned already, died in London and left with the United States Minister there, Rufus King, a remarkable paper urging South American independence, in which he says of his countrymen :—

> The recent acquisition of independence by their neighbors in North America has made the deepest impression on them.

It was in the same year that Miranda gave the following advice to Bernardo O'Higgins, afterwards President of Chile, who was about to return to America :—

> On leaving England do not forget for a moment there is only one other country in the

> whole world outside of that land in which a word of politics may be spoken other than to the proved heart of a friend; and that nation is the United States.

We may wonder—for we do not know the precise date of the memorable interview above quoted—whether it occured before or after Miranda received Alexander Hamilton's letter to him, of August 22nd, 1798, which reads as follows, in part, regarding Miranda's efforts toward obtaining South American independence :—

> The sentiments I entertain with regard to that object have long since been in your knowledge; . . . . It was my wish that matters had been ripened for a coöperation in the course of this fall, on the part of this country; the winter, however, may mature the project and an effective coöperation by the United States may take place. In this case I will be happy, in my official station, to be an instrument of so good a work.

The "official station" to which Hamilton refers was the position he then occupied in the United States army.

We have seen that Miranda was the first South American to study at a United States university, at Yale in 1784. One of the many glories of Georgetown University is the long and distinguished list of Latin-Americans who have found inspiration within its halls. They include a president of Chile, the elder Errázuriz;

a distinguished Peruvian cabinet minister and diplomat, Felix Cipriano Coronel Zegarra; and the list was begun when in 1801, just after that pioneer of Pan-Americanism, Thomas Jefferson, had been inaugurated President of the United States of America, twenty-three young Cubans were brought there by the good Bishop Claget, afterward Bishop of Louisville, Kentucky.

The Louisiana purchase of 1803 directed the attention of the United States of America more and more to the Latin colonies, as they then were, of the New World. An act of Congress of February 24th, 1804, privileged French and Spanish ships and "*those of their colonies*" in the ports of Louisiana for twelve years from the exchange of ratifications of the Louisiana treaty,—a commercial measure of freedom which the growing mercantile intercourse of the countries of the New World were not slow to avail themselves of.

On March 4th, 1805, the New York *Evening Post* printed a letter from Hamburg, dated December 4th, 1804, which said in part: "Could a cargo of linens be sent out to Buenos Aires and one of hides be got in return, it would make a very successful voyage." So far as the author is aware this is the first allusion to Buenos Aires in a New York newspaper. The "Antelope," Captain Pittman, arrived at New York from La Guaira on May 6th, 1805, in twenty-five days—a record beaten three weeks later, when the

"Lively," Captain Van Allen, made the same voyage in fourteen days. On July 15th, 1805, there were three brigs and one schooner flying the Stars and Stripes at Cayenne, French Guiana.

Before we begin to consider in detail the two Pan-American events of the year 1806 which are most generally remembered, it may be well to quote the following extract from the Introduction written by Samuel Latham Mitchill to De Pon's "History of Venezuela," published in 1806,—which, by the way, was one of the first books of so comprehensive a nature published in the United States of America on a Latin-American country:—

> For the seasonableness and importance of a work, written with the ability manifested in every part of this, on the Province of South America, belonging to the Captain-Generalship of the Carraccas, cannot fail to recommend it to the notice of statesmen, merchants, and the lovers of general knowledge.

This is the first occasion on which we find Mitchill interested in Latin-American matters; an interest which was to lead to important consequences, as we shall see later.

That such an expedition as that of Francisco de Miranda from New York City to Venezuela in 1806, to endeavor to free that country from Spain, had been anticipated by the world at large is shown by a remarkable letter from the French explorer and

scientist, Peron, to Charles Decaen, the Governor of Mauritius, or the Isle of France as it was then called, of the twentieth Frimaire Year XII (11th of December, 1803) in which he foresees an insurrection of the Spanish colonies in America, and gives a somewhat detailed account of the probability thereof.

On February 2nd, 1806, Miranda sailed from New York with his little expedition on the ship "Leander." He had previously endeavored to enlist the service of Pétion, then prominent in what is now the Dominican Republic, thus showing that his efforts were not confined to his native country alone. It would be interesting to know who wrote an article in the *Richmond Inquirer* early in the year 1806, which is quoted in the *Federal Gazette* for March 4th of that year. It stated that if Miranda was successful that "a new confederation of states might start into existence"; and that as its people became more free and enlightened, "the United States of South America, like the United States of the North, will represent to admiring Europe another republic, independent, confederated, and happy." The failure of Miranda's attempt to land near Puerto Cabello on April 27th, 1806, which led to its complete failure and the imprisonment in horrible dungeons of many of the young citizens of the United States who took part therein, including a grandson of President John Adams, Moses Smith, did not deter that intrepid leader from attempting another invasion of Venezuela

on July 27th, on which occasion the "Leander" was accompanied by the American brig "Commodore Barry." This expedition failed, although every effort was made to arouse the people of Venezuela to insurrection, and the Jesuit Vicardo y Guzman's letter to which we have alluded above was distributed in that country.

William S. Smith, the father of the young Moses Smith, said: "With respect to my son, he was not made acquainted with the plans of General Miranda; he went with him as a young companion, to share his fortunes and his fate; he was accompanied by some of his friends, capable of deeds of hardihood and valour—worthy their leader, worthy his cause."

Some idea of the assistance rendered by the United States of America to these expeditions of Miranda in 1806 may be gathered from the following translation of an extract from an official dispatch from the Spanish Government to the American legation at Madrid, dated June 2nd, 1806, complaining of this assistance:—

> The arms, the munitions of war, and the rebellious persons who were preparing . . . . . to attack a part of the Dominion of the King in American ships, with American crews, and sailors on board, as well as sons and relatives of persons employed by the American Government, was being arranged in New York; the boats were insured in an American company.

In the spring of 1807 the portraits of Washington and Miranda were found, among others, on a handkerchief of English manufacture near the place where Miranda had landed in Venezuela.

It is not the purpose of this work to give a detailed account of the life of any of the great South American leaders of the War of Independence, so we will merely mention that Simon Bolivar was at the impressionable age of twenty-three when he landed in Boston in October, 1806. After visiting the battlefields of Lexington and Concord, he passed through New York, visited Philadelphia and spent several days in Washington, where he probably met President Jefferson, and sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, some time in January, 1807, to Venezuela by way of the West Indies, after having obtained a clearer idea at first hand of the United States of America.

It seems certain that some time before the year 1807 a number of citizens of the United States of America were engaged in business at Buenos Aires. Captain Campbell of the American Schooner "Mary" arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, on December 19th, 1806, after a passage of seventy-six days from Montevideo. When he left that port on October 3rd, 1806, there were five United States ships there — two from Charleston, two from New York, and one from Boston. Mr. Gilbert Deblois, of Boston, arrived at New York on January 15th, 1807, from Montevideo, via Cayenne. He had left Montevideo on October

25th, 1806, and gave out an interesting interview in New York on the British invasion of Buenos Aires. William P. White, a native of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, had come to Buenos Aires as early as 1804; and George Washington's Farewell Address was known there in 1805, less than ten years after it was delivered. General Belgrano tells us that it came into his hands in that year. In 1808, of the seventy-nine foreigners who were then living in Chile, nine were citizens of the United States of America, five of whom were at Santiago, three at Talcuahuano and one at Copannó. The Argentine historian, Bartolomé Mitre, notes that even before United States Consul General Poinsett arrived in Chile in 1812, vague notions of independence and republicanism had been spread abroad in that country through business men and whalers from the United States of America, the whalers being called "Boston men," as many came thence. In 1807 Andrew Sterett, of Baltimore, several of whose family have since been prominent in Pan-American affairs, died at Lima, Peru, where he had been engaged in business. He was one of the earliest naval officers of the United States of America, which has named a torpedo boat destroyed after him.

Probably the most prominent among the citizens of the United States of America who were then in Buenos Aires was David C. De Forest (1771-1825); he was certainly the first one to call the attention of

his country's government to the need for its representation in that city, which had about 45,000 inhabitants at that time. De Forest is characterized by the Argentine annalist Zinny as "that worthy American, whose portrait exists [1875] in the University of Buenos Aires, and who acquired an honorable position in that city, which gave him that distinction." On October 4th, 1807, he addressed a long letter from Buenos Aires to Secretary James Madison, in which he speaks of ships under the colors of the United States of America constantly visiting Buenos Aires (this is corroborated by the testimony of contemporaries, in Mitre's History of General Belgrano), and urges the appointment of a commercial agent or consul of the United States of America at that place, which addition he presumed would he "highly pleasing to the inhabitants, and sufficiently countenanced by this government to answer all the purposes for which he would be admitted, although the laws would not allow of his being formally admitted." The reference is to the Spanish law of April 24th, 1807, prohibiting the residence of foreign consuls in the Spanish colonial dominions of America. The "Reconquista," or reconquest of Buenos Aires from the English by the inhabitants of that city and their army under Liniers, had occurred just three months before De Forest's letter, on July 5th, 1807; William P. White, the citizen of the United States of America to whom we have recently alluded, was appointed by General

Whitelocke as Commissary, or agent for the British prisoners remaining in the River Plate country.

The New York *Evening Post* for Monday, February 17th, 1806, notes that the United States brig "Ann and Frances," Captain King, had just arrived from the River Plate in eighty-six days, and the issue for November 17th, 1806, states that the United States schooner "Sophrona," Captain Warren, had cleared that day for Buenos Aires from New York City. In the meanwhile the ship "Hanover" arrived from the coast of Patagonia with a cargo of elephant oil at New Bedford, Massachusetts, on May 18th, 1806. In Gore's Liverpool, England, *Advertiser* for September 25th, 1806, the United States brig "Albion," Captain Littlefield, is advertised to sail for the River Plate, and three other United States merchant vessels — the "Intrepid," Captain Trumbull; the "Lady Carleton," Captain Ritchie; and the "Lancaster," Captain Griffin — were about to sail from Liverpool for Buenos Aires. On October 4th, 1806, Captain Stephens arrived in Boston direct from San Sebastian, Brazil, and reported that Sir Home Popham had arrived off Montevideo. On November 13th, 1806, the ship "Bengal," Captain Koven, cleared from New York to Buenos Aires; it belonged to the New York firm of Low & Wallace. The New York *Evening Post* for November 7th, 1807, reprints General Whitelocke's order of July 10th, 1807, at Buenos Aires, and from later issues of the same paper we learn that on No-

vember 8th, 1807, the United States brig "Pallas" arrived at Boston from the River Plate. She had left Montevideo on August 14th, 1807; David C. De Forest was there then. This is the earliest authentic mention of his being in the River Plate countries that I can find, though he must have been there at least for several months previously. On November 9th, 1807, the United States ship "Arrow," Captain Fletcher, of Newburyport, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, from Montevideo, having left that city on the previous September 8th. She carried a valuable cargo of the productions of South America. On November 25th, 1807, the United States ship "Palmyra," whose captain was named Whitney, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, from Montevideo, after a voyage of seventy-three days. The United States ship "Olive Branch," of Boston, had arrived at Montevideo two days before the "Palmyra" sailed from that port, and the United States brig "Union," Captain Hussey, of Nantucket, had sailed from Montevideo for the Rio Negro on the coast of Patagonia (presumably for whaling for "elephant oil," as the "Hanover," of New Bedford, had done the year previous), shortly before the "Palmyra" had left the River Plate. The "Palmyra" had also left five United States merchant vessels at Montevideo, namely the brig "Eliza Carey" from Providence, Rhode Island, which was about to sail for Botany Bay; the ship "Olive Branch," previously mentioned, whose captain was named King; the ship

"Print," Captain Dixey, which was all ready to sail for Boston; and a ship commanded by Captain Tibbetts, of Wiscasset (now in Maine, then in Massachusetts), which was detained by a Spanish privateer in the Rio de la Plata. The schooner "Sophronia," Captain Warren, of New York, as well as a Philadelphia ship, had shortly before sailed for home, intending to stop on the Brazil coast; we have seen above that she had left New York for Buenos Aires on November 17th, 1806. The ship "George and Mary," of Newport News, Virginia, had sailed on August 13th, 1807, from Buenos Aires to London.

Thus in the year 1807 there were merchant vessels from five of the thirteen maritime states that then constituted the United States of America — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia — doing business in the River Plate countries; and there was also traffic with a sixth state, South Carolina, to which several vessels returned from River Plate ports; so we can say that half the maritime and a third of the total number of the United States of America in 1807 had some interest in the River Plate trade. Even the evacuating British squadron, on their way back to England from Buenos Aires, fell in with the United States brig "Sally," Captain Barry, bound from Barcelona to Philadelphia. So that one hundred and seven years ago, the Stars and Stripes was not an unfamiliar sight in the River Plate — while Liniers was at the height of his power, three years

before the first step toward Argentine independence had been initiated. In fact, at least one citizen of the United States seems to have had direct relations with Liniers; for the "Palmyra" reported she left De Forest in Montevideo, he having obtained "liberty from General Liniers to attend to one or two suits of law that were pending," as the contemporary reporter of the New York *Evening Post* phrased it. De Forest was by no means the only one of his countrymen to remain in Montevideo; Messrs. Blodget and Childs, of Baltimore, continued there under the privilege granted to them by the court of Spain, though Mr. Wykman, of New York, had taken passage on an English ship for Surinam. The "Palmyra" brought back to Charleston a large quantity of English goods with which the River Plate market had been glutted after the British occupation of Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

In the year 1808 the Englishman, W. Burke, wrote that the United States would emancipate South America if England or France did not, or if the South Americans did not do it by their own efforts; and in the same year President Thomas Jefferson wrote to Governor Claiborne of the territory of Orleans, at New Orleans, as follows, speaking of Cuba and Mexico:—

> We consider their interests and ours as the same, and the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere.

Jefferson again alludes to this idea in his letter to President Madison of April 27th, 1809, in which he speaks of Napoleons's consenting to the United States "receiving Cuba into our Union to prevent our aid to Mexico and the other provinces"; thus alluding to that assistance on the part of the United States of America to Latin America which was discussed by Congressman James Holland, of North Carolina, in the United States Congress on June 14th, 1808, in the course of a debate to appropriate money for the relief of the prisoners held in Venezuela who had taken part in the Miranda expedition of 1806:—

> Sir, had I been a young man, and had nothing else to engage in, I should myself have been happy to join in a number of brave fellows in emancipating an enslavened country—and the provinces of South America are in a miserable situation, and there is no danger of worsting them by the change. . . . .
>
> If they had succeeded in their attempt and liberated the provinces (and I hope they will soon become free provinces), they would have been considered the benefactors of mankind; they would have received the thanks of all the friends of humanity; but, poor fellows! they were defeated. In going with a design to revolutionize the Carraccas, they might have gone with patriotic motives.

Congressman Joseph Pearson, of North Carolina, also spoke, urging the appropriation, which was

finally lost by a tie vote. In the course of the discussion, which took up two entire days of the time of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, it appeared that thirty young citizens of that republic had taken part in Miranda's expedition, and that Miranda himself had been a guest of President Jefferson at his table in the White House.

On March 7th, 1809, Thomas Sumter, of South Carolina, was appointed United States Minister to the Portuguese Court, which had been residing at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, since 1807, when the Portuguese royal family had been expelled from continental Portugal by Napoleon's armies. It was apparently between January and June, 1809, that a "seditious proclamation" was circulated in Buenos Aires (it was sent to the Brigadier of the Royal Navy, Joachim de Molina, who was then in Lima, Peru, on June 10th, 1809), one of the paragraphs of which reads as follows:—

> The valor with which the English Colonies of America fought for their freedom, which they now gloriously enjoy, covers our indolence with shame. We have yielded them the palm with which they have crowned the New World with an independent sovereignty. Even France and Spain made efforts to sustain them. The valor of those valiant Americans puts our lack of feeling to shame; they and England will protest the most just cause of our honor, provoked by outrages which have lasted for three hundred years.

This reads very much like an adaptation of the circular letter of the Peruvian Jesuit father, Vicardo y Guzman, which, as we have already seen, was begun to be circulated in the Spanish colonies of America in 1791.

In an anonymous letter written about this time to the governor of Montevideo, Francisco Xavier Elio, from some person in the interior of Peru (from internal evidence it seems probable that it was written in what is now Bolivia), we read that America should unite in a Central Junta, to be chosen by two *oidores*, (deputies) from each *audiencia*; two persons, deputies, from each secular *cabildo*, two from each ecclesiastical *cabildo*; one fron each *partido*; one from each *cabezero de peovincia*, and one half of the officials, with the qualification that, except the *oidores*, they shall all be patriots, and that, in addition to those named, as many others as may wish to be of service with talents or endeavors may come. This Junta shall determine which power they shall consider as their protector and guardian of the seas, whether England or the Anglo-Americans, shall be nearest through commercial interests; and the latter will send makers of all manufactures, whereby the present conditions shall be remedied, by which so much money leaves the continent in the form of metal, but rather that it shall only leave in manufactures, and agricultural and industrial products. It was also in the year 1809 that Joseph Napoleon, then king of

Spain, caused a paper to be circulated in South America stating that he wished to make South America free and independent of Europe, and that his agents were to hold out the United States as a model to the people of that continent.

The beginning of the trade of Salem, Massachusetts, with South American ports may be mentioned here. Within less than four months after the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States of America — on August 25th, 1789 — the schooner "Lark" arrived at Salem from Surinam with a cargo of sugar, inaugurating a commerce with that colony which lasted for seventy-one years. Many a cargo of coffee, cocoa, sugar, cotton, molasses, or distilled spirits was consigned from Surinam to the old Salem merchant princes,—William Gray, Elias H. Derby, the Crowninshields, Pickmans, Osgoods, Ornes and others of the Golden Book of Salem Commerce. In 1799 and again in 1804 there were twelve vessels from Salem to Surinam. The trade with the adjoining colony of Cayenne was started in April, 1798, when the brig "Katy," Nathaniel Brown, master, cleared for that port with a cargo of fish, flour, bacon, butter, oil, tobacco, candles, and potter's ware. Between 1810 and 1877 three hundred vessels arrived at Salem from Cayenne. The foreign trade of Salem closed when the schooner "Mattie F.," belonging to Messrs. C. E. and B. H. Fabens, entered Salem from Cayenne on March 21st, 1877.

There is no more daringly adventurous story in all the annals of American commerce than these eighty-eight years of Salem's South American trade. From Surinam and Cayenne the Salem merchants pressed onward down the Brazil coast. In September, 1809, the brig "Welcome Return," Jeremiah Briggs, master, arrived at Salem, consigned to Josiah Dow, from Pernambuco. This Pernambuco trade lasted until 1851. A Salem-owned brig came in from Bahia with molasses in 1819. There were three entries at Salem from Rio de Janeiro in 1810, and the news of the glorious events of May 25th, 1810, first reached the United States on a Salem vessel that arrived at that port from Buenos Aires on August 21st, 1810. The Rio de Janeiro trade continued until 1852. The finest vessel ever built in Salem, "Cleopatra's Barge," built by Mr. George Crowninshield, sailed from Rio de Janeiro on January 31st, 1819, for Salem, Mass., with a cargo of hides, sugar, coffee and tapioca, which she had obtained there in exchange for New England manufactured products. Eight years before, in March, 1811, Mr. Crowninshield's ship "John" had entered Salem from Rio de Janeiro.

The Salem-Buenos Aires trade lasted until August, 1860, when the bark "Salem" returned to her home port for the last time. She was consigned to Mr. James Upton, whose family were prominent in the South American trade for over fifty years. The Uptons imported large quantities of hides and horns

from Montevideo, Uruguay, from 1839 to 1861, though the Salem trade with Montevideo had begun long before that, in June, 1811, when the brig "Hope," Benjamin Jacobs, master, arrived at Salem consigned to Mr. Thomas H. Perkins, the purpose of whose long and useful life, so much of which was spent in promoting Pan-American commerce, has been perpetuated in his descendant, Mr. James H. Perkins, who is the vice-president of the first United States bank to open branches in South America. The Salem trade with Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, lasted from 1817 to 1828. From 1824 to 1829 several brigs brought cocoa from Guayaquil — still a port of the Great Colombian Republic, as Ecuador did not become independent until 1830 — to Salem, where ships also arrived from Callao and Valparaiso.

The following quotations from Manuel Palacio's "Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America," published in London in 1817, is of interest as showing the effects of the example of the United States of America on the beginnings of the Venezuelan War of Independence in 1810. It will be remembered that the first outbreak of American independence in that year occurred at Caracas:—

> The Congress now turned its attention to that new Constitution which was to insure the liberty of Venezuela. The plan of this Constitution had been formed by Don F. X. Ustariz. He, and many others of the greatest respectability, had

> intimated from the first their opinion, that, in case of a final separation from Spain, the best form of government to be established in Venezuela was a federal one, of which the United States gave an example. In order to disseminate this opinion, essays, . . . written by one Burke, . . . were inserted in the Caracas *Gazette* for many successive months solely to prove the advantages resulting from this Constitution of the North Americas.

The *American Advertiser* of Philadelphia for June 7th, 1810, contains an account of the late revolution in Caracas, in which it states that "the people [of South America] have no other idea than to make themselves independent of every foreign power. In such a circumstance we [of the United States of America] cannot be indifferent spectators." It was also in 1810 that the Venezuelan, Juan German Roscio, secretely made a translation of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man" (which, as we have already seen, Antonio Nariño knew about sixteen years before in Bogotá, while Miranda had met Paine in the United States twenty-seven years before) and published extracts from it in Caracas in 1811. On June 11th, 1810, Juan Vicente de Bolivar and Telesforo de Orea left for the United States of America with instructions to solicit the aid of that country for their compatriots, and in the same month Robert K. Lowry was appointed Marine and Commercial Agent of the United States of America to the provinces of Venezuela, beginning his long and useful consular career therein. On June 28th, 1810,

Joel Roberts Poinsett was appointed Agent for Commerce and Seaman of the United States of America at the port of Buenos Aires. The following extract from the instructions issued to him by Secretary James Monroe on that day are deserving of careful attention, as showing the attitude of the United States of America towards the people of Spanish America in the year that witnessed the beginning of their War of Independence :—

> As a crisis is approaching which must produce great changes in the situation of Spanish America, and may dissolve altogether its colonial relations to Europe, and as the geographical position of the United States, and other obvious considerations, give them an intimate interest in whatever may effect the destiny of that part of the American Continent, it is our duty to turn our attention to this important subject, and to take such steps, not incompatible with the neutral character and honest policy of the United States, as the occasion renders proper. With this in view, you have been selected to proceed, without delay, to Buenos Aires. You will make it your object, whenever it may be proper, to diffuse the impression that the United States cherish the sincerest good will toward the people of Spanish America as neighbors, as belonging to the same portion of the globe and as having a mutual interest in cultivating friendly intercourse; that this disposition will exist, whatever may be their internal system or European relation, with respect to which no interference of any sort is pretended; and that, in

the event of a political separation from the parent country, and of the establishment of an independent system of national government, it will coincide with the sentiments and policy of the United States to promote the most friendly relations, and the most liberal intercourse, between the inhabitants of this hemisphere, as having all a common interest, and as lying under a common obligation to maintain that system of peace, justice, and good will, which is the only source of happiness for nations.

Whilst you inculcate these as the principles and dispositions of the United States, it will be no less proper to ascertain those on the other side, not only towards the United States, but in reference to the great nations of Europe, and to the commercial and other connections with them, respectively; and, generally, to inquire into the state, the characteristics, and the proportions, as to numbers, intelligence, and wealth, of the several parties, the amount of population, the extent and organization of the military force, and the pecuniary resources of the country.

The real as well as ostensible object of your mission is to explain the mutual advantages of commerce with the United States, to promote liberal and stable regulations, and to transmit reasonable information on the subject. In order that you may render the more service in this respect, and that you may, at the same time, enjoy the greater protection and respectability, you will be furnished with a credential letter, such as is held by sundry agents of the United State in the West Indies, and as was lately held by one at

> Havana, and under the sanction of which you will give the requisite attention to commercial objects.

Two of the remarkable Pan-American expressions of the year 1810 were those of the Argentinian, Bernardino Rivadavia, and the Chilean, Juan Martinez de Rosas. Rivadavia's circular letter of May 27th, 1810, communicating the news of the installation of the first Junta at Buenos Aires, speaks of the union and harmony which should prevail among citizens of the same origin, dependence, and interests, and in Rosas' "Declaration of the Rights of the Chilean People" we find the following striking statements:—

> 1. The people of Latin America cannot defend their sovereignty single-handed; in order to develop themselves they need to unite, not in an internal organization, but for external security against the plans of Europe, and to avoid wars among themselves.
>
> 2. This does not mean that the European states are to be regarded as enemies; on the contrary, the friendly relations with them must be strengthened as far as possible.
>
> 3. The American states must unite in a congress in order to endeavor to organize and to fortify themselves. . . . . The day when America, united in a congress, whether of the two continents, or of the South, shall speak to the rest of the world, her voice will make itself respected and her resolve would be opposed with difficulty.

The foregoing was reëchoed in the Supreme Junta of Venezuela of April 27th, 1810, to the authorities of all the American capitals, urging them to contribute to the great work of the Spanish-American Confederation; and their sending Bolivar and Orea so soon afterward to the United States shows that they were also thinking of their sister republic to the north. This is confirmed by the speech of the Colombian patriot, Miguel Pombo, in 1810, to the people of Bogotá, in which he says: "The American voice is raised and it has sworn to avenge the blood of its Franklins and Washingtons."

It is interesting to note in this connection the many references to the United States of America in the *Gazeta de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires *Gazette*) for 1810 and subsequently. The issue of September 27th, 1810, alludes to the freedom of the press in the United States, while that for October 25th prints a patriotic song, one verse of which reads as follows, in translation:—

> If there was a Washington in the North land,
> We have many Washingtons in the South;
> If arts and commerce have prospered there,—
> Courage, fellow countrymen;
> Let us follow their example.

In the issue for November 28th the reader is urged to "listen to Mr Jefferson, who describes all the parts of such an association for us in his 'Observations on Virginia.'" A page of translation from Jefferosn follows.

On January 15th, 1811, the Congress of the United States of America, acting in response to a secret message of President Madison regarding the occupation of the Floridas, passed in secret session a resolution which recited that:—

> Taking into view the peculiar situation of Spain and of her American provinces; and considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the southern border of the United States may have on their security, tranquility, and commerce,—
>
> *Resolved*, That the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crises, cannot, without serious inquietude, see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign power; and that a due regard to their own safety compels them to provide, under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the said territory. . . . .

A few months before this Thomas Sumter had been received at Petropolis by the Prince Regent, João VI, as United States Minister. On April 30th, 1811, Joel Roberts Pionsett, of South Carolina, who, as we have seen, had been appointed agent for Commerce and Seamen in the port of Buenos Aires on June 28th, 1810, was given a new commission as Consul General of the United States of America to Buenos Aires, Peru and Chile. At the time of the adoption of the Venezuelan Declaration of Independence, on July 5th, 1811, we find the patriot Francisco Javier

Yánes, whose illustrious grandson has so worthily maintained the family's Pan-American reputation as Assistant Director of the Pan-American Union, urging his colleagues to declare their independence on July 4th, as by doing so they would follow the example of their brothers in North America. On July 30th, 1811, the Confederation of Venezuela issued a manifesto from the Federal Palace at Caracas of the reasons which influenced them in the formation of absolute independence, in which the United States of America is referred to. When the Argentine envoys, Belgrano and Echevarria, bade good-bye to Dr. Francia, the famous dictator and liberator of Paraguay, on October 12th, 1811, he offered them a handsome steel engraving of Franklin that hung in his study. "This is the first Democrat in the world and the model we should imitate," he said, when he presented it to Echevarria. The Argentines noticed that Francia seemed to know something of the War of Independence of the United States of America.

With these growing inter-American relations it is only natural that President Madison should speak as follows in his message to Congress of November 5th, 1811,—in words so feelingly alluded to by the late Emilio Mitre on the occasion of Secretary Root's visit to Buenos Aires in 1906:—

> In contemplating the scenes which distinguish this momentous epoch, and estimating their claim to our attention, it is impossible to overlook those

> developing themselves among the great communities which occupy the southern portion of our hemisphere, and extend into our neighborhood. An enlarged philanthropy and an enlightened forecase concur in imposing on the national councils an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies, to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good will, to regard the progress of events, and not to be unprepared for whatever order of things may be ultimately established.

This was a message sent to a special session of Congress that was called to discuss matters connected with the impending war with England; and it is all the more noteworthy, as signifying the interest felt by one of the greatest United States statesmen in the destinies of our South American neighbors at this moment of national stress.

Before this message had been sent to Congress Secretary Monroe had received from the agent from Venezuela, Telesforo de Orea, a copy of the act of Venezuelan independence; and he seems to have been also aware of the progress of the revolutionary movement in other parts of Latin America.

On November 12th, 1811, "such portion of the President's message as referred to South America" was referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, consisting of Samuel L. Mitchill, of New York; William Blackledge, of North Carolina; William W. Bibb, of Georgia; Epaphroditus Champion, of Connecticut; William Butler, of South Carolina;

Samuel Taggert, of Massachusetts; and Samuel Shaw, of Vermont.

As it was Mitchill who was the first, so far as can be ascertained, to offer in a foreign legislative body a resolution of sympathy with the struggling Latin-American countries, some account of his life may be of interest. Samuel Latham Mitchill was born at North Hamstead, Long Island, August 20th, 1764, and died in New York City on September 7th, 1831. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, few members of any Congress have won permanent fame in as many useful branches of public service as he. His chemical, geological, and scientific studies were practical as well as theoretical; he was undoubtedly the originator of the idea of harnessing the water power of Niagara Falls, and he accompanied Fulton on the first voyage of the "Clermont." He founded the first medical journal in the United States, and was often alluded to as the "Nestor of American Science." An interesting letter from Jeremy Robinson, who had recently been agent of the United States of America at Lima, Peru, to Mitchill from Valparaiso, Chile, is printed on page 43, Vol. XIX, of *Niles' Register*.

It is extremely probable that Mitchill met Miranda during the latter's sojourn in New York City, and possible that he saw Bolivar on his visit there in October, 1806.

His memorable resolution, offered on December 10th, 1811, was as follows:—

> WHEREAS, Several of the American Spanish Provinces have represented to the United States that it has been found expedient for them to associate and form federal governments upon the elective and representative plan, and to declare themselves free and independent; Therefore be it
>
> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled,* That they behold with friendly interest, the establishment of independent sovereignties by the Spanish Provinces in America, consequent upon the actual state of monarchy to which they belong; that as neighbors and inhabitants of the same hemisphere, the United States feel great solicitude for their welfare; and that, when these Provinces shall have attained the conditions of nations, by the just exercise of their rights, the Senate and House will unite with the Executive in establishing with them, as sovereign and independent states, such amicable relations and commercial intercourse as may require their legislative authority.

With such friendly resolutions before Congress, it is therefore no wonder that the Commissioners from the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata (now Argentina), Diego de Saavedra and Juan Pedro de Aguirre, who seem to have arrived in the United States in the latter part of 1811, wrote to Secretary James Monroe on February 5th, 1812, of the "liberality with which they had been treated by the Government and inhabitants of the United States," whose "favorable disposition to the cause which our Government main-

tains, is marked by our gratitude and respect," while Carrera, then Dictator of Chile, remarked on February 10th, 1812, on receiving Joel Roberts Poinsett, the first representative of the United States of America in Chile, as follows:—

> That power [the United States] attracts all our attentions and our attachments. You may safely assure it of the sincerity of our friendly sentiments.

Poinsett sincerely and frankly replied that "The Americans of the North generally take the greatest interest in the success of these countries, and ardently wish for the happiness and prosperity of their brothers to the south. I will make known to the Government of the United States the friendly sentiments of Your Excellency, and I felicitate myself on having been the first who had the honorable charge of establishing relations between two generous nations, who ought to consider themselves as friends and natural allies."

As soon as news reached the United States of the terrible earthquake at Caracas, Venezuela, of March 26th, 1812, the sympathies of the people were aroused and manifested in various ways, of which the prompt action by Congress is an example. On May 4th, 1812, a law was passed authorizing the President to expend $50,000 to purchase a quantity of provisions and present them to the Government of Venezuela on behalf of the United States. Alexander Scott was entrusted with this duty; he arrived at La Guaira on

June 22nd, 1812, the five vessels in which the flour and other provisions were sent coming soon afterwards. So far as can be ascertained this was the first congressional appropriation of its kind, and is all the more noteworthy as occurring when the United States was on the brink of war with England, when every penny available was being used for hostile purposes. This sum would probably represent nearly $120,000 now. John C. Calhoun, later Vice-President and Secretary of both the State and War Departments of the United States of America, was very active in securing the passage of this bill, having the amount raised from $30,000 to $50,000, thus evidencing the Pan-Americanism that characterized his long and useful life.

Ten years later Captain Bache, of the United States army, became acquainted in Bogotá with the officer who had received this "timely offering." "He reverts, at every proper occasion, to the circumstance, with a fervor which proves that his gratitude has not been cooled with the lapse of time." Five years later the South American, Manuel Palacio, wrote: "It was only by the liberality of the Congress of the United States that the few whom the earthquake spared did not perish by famine"; and the Mexican Mier, writing at the end of July, 1812, says: "We have learnt with pleasure that the United States have sent aid to Venezuela after the earthquake,—$50,000, and provisions of all kinds,—as well as arms and ammunition

to Buenos Aires." The last part of the foregoing sentence refers to the mission of Diego de Saavedra and Juan Pedro de Aguirre to the United States. One of their letters to Secretary Monroe has already been quoted. They returned to Buenos Aires from the United States on May 19th, 1812. Apparently, in July of 1812, the matrons of Buenos Aires met and offered to raise the money to pay for these arms and munitions of war by subscription. María Eugenia de Escalada, the half sister of General José de San Martin's wife, took a prominent part in this patriotic endeavor and contributed two ounces of gold thereto. It will be remembered that San Martin had landed from Europe just before March, 1812, and that consequently these arms from the United States must have been among the very first with which his army was equipped.

The Gazeta de Buenos Aires, to which we have already alluded, contains many references to the United States and to Pan-American matters in general from the date of its beginning in 1810. We have already seen that in the issue for November 28th, 1810, a page of translation of President Jefferson's "Observations on Virginia" is printed, and the number for September 10th, 1812, mentioned the arrival of the United States ship "Laura" that had left Boston on the 4th of the previous April.

Writing in London in August, 1812, the Mexican Mier, mentions that "Anglo-Americans have arrived

in Chile with a printing-press and guns,"—both useful in this critical stage in the Chilean struggle for independence. The printing-press had arrived at Valparaiso from New York on November 24th, 1811, on the United States ship "Galloway," which also brought three printers—Samuel Burr Johnston, William H. Burbidge and Simon Garrison—from that country to set the new industry in operation. Johnston was made a Chilean citizen in March, 1814, because of his "noteworthy merit, services, and zeal for freedom,"—one of the first foreigners on whom Chilean citizenship was conferred. His exploits in the Chilean navy will be enumerated in a later chapter. One of the first efforts of this printing-press was to publish the first Chilean newspaper, the *Aurora*, which lasted from February, 1812, to April 1st, 1813; and it had many opportunities of chronicling news from its native country therein. Almost every number published in 1812 contains some reference or allusion to the United States. On the 13th of February, 1813, it mentions the arrival of the United States frigate "Melantho," Captain Richard R. Boughan, with a cargo of linen goods and canvas; and in the issue for March 2nd we find notices of books published in the United States, as well as a detailed account of the reception of the United States Consul General Poinsett, by José Miguel Carrera, then Dictator of Chile. In the next number, that for March 5th, Matias A. Hoevel, a naturalized citizen of the United States of America, of

Swedish birth, petitions the Chilean Government to suspend actual operation of the Reglamento de Comercio for February 21st, 1811, for a little while, so that business men from the United States can take full advantage thereof. On March 12th we find a description of a new printing-press recently invented in the United States, and in an editorial on March 19th, the editor, that indefatigable early Pan-American, Camilo Enriquez, urges that books be brought from the United States, especially grammars and dictionaries, so that the people of Chile may learn English. John Quincy Adams's speech of July 4th, 1811, in Washington, is translated and printed in this number. Just as we find later that the people of Buenos Aires learned of Bolivar's activities through the United States newspaper, so on April 2nd, 1812, extracts from papers from Boston regarding Caracas appeared in the *Aurora* of Santiago de Chile, which also printed a translation of Jefferson's inaugural on November 10th, 1812, and Washington's Farewell Address in its issues for December 10th and 17th. The fourth of July, 1812, was enthusiastically celebrated at Santiago de Chile. The Government took "every imaginable interest," and a Pan-American hymn was sung in the streets, a stanza of which reads :—

Al Sud Fuerte le extiende sus Brazos
La Patria Ilustre de Washington ;
El Nuevo Mundo todo se reune
En eterna Confederacion.

[The illustrious fatherland of Washington extends her arms to the strong South; all the New World unites in an eternal confederation.]

We called Camilo Enriquez a Pan-American just now; if he had done nothing else to justify this title, surely the foregoing stanza which he wrote indicates his Pan-American views. Later in his useful life (1769-1825), when in exile in Buenos Aires in 1817, he wrote a play whose scene is laid in Philadelphia. The Chilean historian, Amunategui, says of him that "The brilliant perspective of the great republic of the United States was always his model."

One of the last numbers of the *Aurora*, that of March 18th, 1813, mentions the arrival of the U. S. S. "Essex," Captain David Porter, at Valparaiso. There was some United States shipping to look after on the west coast of South America then. Four American whalers had arrived at Talcuahuano early in February, 1813, and in the previous year twenty-six of them, mostly from Massachusetts, were off the coasts of Peru and Chile. Captain David Porter sailed in the U. S. S. "Essex," forty-six guns, from the capes of the Delaware on October 28th, 1812. The "Essex" was built in Salem, Essex County, Massachusetts, in 1799, not far from where there was then playing as a child another American destined to be famous in Chilean History,—William Wheelwright.

After passing the straits of La Maire on February 26th, Captain Porter found himself about twenty

miles from the coast of Chile; and on the morning of the 15th of March he entered the harbor of Valparaiso. We will quote his own words as to his reception there:—

> Before I got to anchor the captain of the port, accompanied by another officer, came on board in the Governor's barge, with an offer of every civility, assistance, and accommodation, that Valparaiso could afford; and to my astonishment, I was informed that they had shaken off all their allegiance to Spain; that the ports of Chile were open to all nations; that they looked up to the United States of America for example and protection; that our arrival would be considered the most joyful event, as their commerce had been much harassed by corsairs from Peru, sent out by the Viceroy of that province, to capture and send in for adjudication all American vessels destined for Chile, and that five of them had disappeared from before the port only a few days before my arrival, and had captured several American whalers, and sent them to Lima.
>
> The affair of the salute was arranged, and, after anchoring, I saluted the town with twenty-one guns, which were punctually returned; immediately after which I waited on the Governor, Don Francisco Lastra, who gave me the most friendly, and at the same time unceremonious reception. On my passing the American armed brig "Colt," she fired a salute of nine guns, which was returned by the "Essex" by seven. I had not been long with the Governor, before I discovered that I had, happily for my purpose, got among staunch republicans,

men filled with revolutionary principles, and apparently desirous of establishing a form of government founded on liberty. The captain of the port, whose name I do not recollect, was a sterling, honest patriot, and spoke his sentiments boldly; he evidently felt as those should feel who are determined to be free; appeared sensible they had yet much to do; and I am sure was resolved to do his utmost to emancipate his country.

A courier was immediately dispatched, by the American vice and deputy Consul, to Santiago, the capital of Chile, to inform Mr. Poinsett, the American Consul General, of our arrival in the port of Valparaiso.

When we first arrived, a few boats came off with fruit; in a few hours our supply was abundant. Nothing could exceed the excellence and abundance of the apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, melons, onions, potatoes and vegetables of every description. The potatoes are superior in size and quality to those of any other country, and are indigenous. Tons of the foregoing articles were sold to our people, which were laid by as a sea stock, as well as hogs and poultry in great numbers, and of the best qualities; the fowls are of the largest size. No part of the world could have afforded us a more ample supply of everything we wanted of the provision kind. The flour and bread were of a very superior quality, and could be procured in any quantities without difficulty. All the dry provisions were put up in hides; the flour was better secured in them and more closely packed than it could possibly be in barrels; and, although much heavier, we found them more

manageable. The use they make of hides is astonishing; the most of the furniture for their mules and horses, and their houses, on some parts of their coast, even their boats, or as they are called, *balsas* are made of this article. It is used for every purpose to which it is possible to apply it, either whole, cut in pieces or in long strips. When used for *balsas*, two hides each, cut something in the form of a canoe, with the seams upward, are blown up by means of a reed, and stopped together; a piece of board is then laid across to sit on, and on this frail machine they venture a considerable distance to sea. The *laque*, for the use of which the Chileans are so famous, is formed of a very long strip of hide, with a running noose, and their dexterity in using it, in catching animals at full speed, is surprising. Every pack-horseman and driver of a jackass is furnished with one of them; and so much do they delight in them, or in showing their dexterity, that when they wish to catch any one of their drove, either to load, unload, or for any other purpose, they take their distance, deliberately coil up their *laque*, and never fail of throwing it over the neck of the animal wanted.

On the 17th, Captain Munson, of the American brig in port, arrived from Santiago, bringing me a letter from the Consul General, inviting myself and officers, in the name of the Government of Chile, to visit the capital, and informed us that horses and every other convenience were provided for on the road. Captain Munson was also desired by the Consul to inform me that the President and Junta, with a large military escort, would

meet us at a considerable distance from the city, and that, in a political view, they considered our arrival as the most happy event. Captain Munson stated that the bells had been rung the whole day, and illuminations had taken place the evening after our arrival was announced, and that it was generally believed that I had brought from my country nothing less than proposals for a friendly alliance with Chile, and assurance of assistance in their struggle for independence. This idea I felt no disposition to do away with.

Agreeably to the Governor's invitation, we attended his party, where we found a much larger and more brilliant assemblage of ladies than we could have expected in Valparaiso. We found much fancy and considerable taste displayed in their dress, and many of them very handsome, both in person and in face; their complexion remarkably fine, and their manners modest and attracting. With their grace, their beauty of person and complexion, and with their modesty, we were delighted, and could almost fancy we had gotten amongst our own fair countrywomen.

After all was over, "we returned on board our ship, pleased with the novelties of a Chilean ball, and much gratified by the solicitude shown by every one to make our stay amongst them agreeable." Before the "Essex" left Valparaiso, which Porter describes as "pleasantly situated, and has a considerable commerce," Luis Carrera, "a spirited youth about twenty-two years of age," the brother of the President, dined on the "Essex" with Consul General Poinsett and Consul

Haywell, the representatives of the United States of America in Chile. The night before sailing the Governor of Valparaiso entertained them with a dinner and ball. "The night was spent with much hilarity." It is interesting to note that Admiral David Glasgow Farragut was with Porter at this time, as a midshipman, only thirteen years old.

The *Seminario Republicano* was also published at Santiago de Chile at this time. It was founded and conducted by Camilo Enriquez and Antonio José de Irisarri, who afterwards died in Brooklyn. In its first number, for October 30th, 1813, we find "examples of tolerance of Madison, Jefferson and Washington," and in the issue for November 10th, a version of a hymn called "Hail, Great Republic of the World!" which the *Seminario* states was the national hymn of the United States of America, dedicated to the people of Buenos Aires. But the *Gazeta de Buenos Aires* had not been behind its Chilean contemporary in informing the public in general about the United States of America during the year 1813. The numbers for July 28th and August 4th, 1813, contain a long dissertation on the duties and functions of the Executive Power in the United States. The number for August 18th, 1813, quotes Chief Justice Marshall at length. On October 6th, 1813, the good people of Buenos Aires read in their *Gazeta Ministerial* a long translation from the New York *Evening Post* of the preceding June 21st, which stated that "According to a letter from

Cadiz, dated April 13th, the Spaniards complain that the United States approve of the revolutionary spirit that abounds in their American Dominions, and that we have openly recognized the rights that those countries have to revolt." The number for December 1st, 1813, quotes from Fisher Ames: "Those who govern should remember that to preserve a free government a supine security is almost treason."

On February 2nd, 1813, a Spanish translation of Washington's Farewell Address was published at Buenos Aires; the translation was made by no less a person than General Manuel Belgrano, who stated in his Preface thereto that the Farewell Address first came into his hands about the year 1805; that he undertook to translate it himself, but it was lost with all his papers in "his dangerous and hasty Combat of March 9th, 1811, at Tacuarí; thereupon, as he was "anxious that the lessons of the American Hero might be propagated among us," he received another copy from the hands of David C. De Forest; and the American Dr. Redhead, who was also then living in Buenos Aires, assisted him in the translation. He alludes to Washington as "that hero worthy of the admiration of our Age and of the Generations to come, example of moderation and of true patriotism, who bade farewell to his fellow-citizens, on leaving office, giving them the most important and salutary lessons; and in speaking of them, I speak of all those we have about us, and with all those who may have

the glory to call themselves Americans." He also states that "I merely wish to beseech the Government, my fellow-citizens and all who think of the happiness of America, not to separate this little Book from their pocket. Let them read, study and meditate on it, and determine to imitate that great man, so that we may arrive at the end to which we aspire,—to constitute ourselves into a free and independent Nation."

The letter of Juan Manuel de Luca to the Vice-Consul of the United States of America in Buenos Aires, William Gilchrist Miller, dated February 10th, 1813, is of interest at this state of our narrative :—

> On the 31st of last month the General Assembly was installed, which was announced to the free provinces within our limits on October 23rd, last, having been recognized and sworn to worthily and with all solemnity.
>
> The status of legitimate and sovereign representation to which these provinces have been raised by common vote, presents to-day the most happy occasion of assuring your Excellency that, its national form having been created, by order of my Government I have the honor to communicate to you that his Excellency desires nothing so greatly as to initiate with those free countries of North America those commercial relations of mutual interest and frankness which open the channels to industry and prosperity of States, more indeed in those in whose origin is seen the same principles which have governed our political regeneration. I have the honor to communicate

such a noteworthy event to you, assuring you at the same time that my Government instructs me to extend every consideration to you, who are so worthy of your representative character.

I have the honor to be, Your very obedient servant,

JUAN MANUEL DE LUCA,
Secretary of the Ad interim Government.

A week later, on February 17th, 1813, we find de Luca sending a similar notification to United States Consul Poinsett in Chile. The Argentine historian, Palomeque, commenting on this, states that "The directors of the Argentine Revolution had formed such an opinion of the worth of North America [the United States of America] that they were already seeking their alliance in 1813."

On July 21st, 1813, the Triumvirate,—Nicolas Rodriguez Peña, José Julian Perez, and Antonio A. Gomez,—developed the foregoing ideas of Secretary Luca in the following important dispatch to President Madison :—

Since the cry of freedom resounded on the wide shores of the Rio de la Plata, men accustomed to forecast events justly flattered themselves that the great people of the United States of North America would never be indifferent to the emancipation and prosperity of these Colonies. As they were starting on the same career which those had gloriously completed, and considering the identity of interests and reciprocity of relations, they hoped to make the first announcement to them and to

request their protection abroad, as the other powers were almost exclusively occupied in the ruinous continental war in which they were engaged, and were under various forms of tyranny and European ambition. Unfortunately the vacillations and uncertainties which necessarily accompany the transition from one government to another in countries long enslaved took place in these Provinces; and did not allow what should have been the proper result of that great event to take place,—to establish direct relations with your country; a new obstacle which has embarrassed and frustrated the best of our intentions having arisen,—the recent breaking off of relations between the United States and England.

But finally the love of freedom overcame opposition, triumphed successfully over its enemies, and after a constant series of victories, has produced order, which will assure the results of our glorious Revolution. As the general constituent Assembly of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata has been opened, and the Executive Authority constituted on bases none the less firm because they are liberal, and the great cause of those who sustain the rights of the people against the impious doctrine of those who endeavor to submit them to the proscription and the exclusive interests of Kings, will succeed by the declaration of independence in these southern hemispheres.

In circumstances which are, therefore, happy, this Government has the honorable and cordial pleasure of announcing to your Excellency its permanent installation, and of conveying to the honorable American Congress, through the most

worthy medium of your Excellency, its highest prospect and sentiments of friendship.

The dispositions which arise from the analogy of political principles and the indubitable characteristics of a national sympathy, should prepare a fraternal alliance which would truly unite the Americans of the North and South forever, causing the Congress of the United States and the Constituent Assembly of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata to adopt the basis of social compatibility to its full extent to show through its results that between the Governments of the two Americas there exist neither the lugubrious distinctions which separate morality from politics, or the artificial manipulations of the ministries of the Old World.

Will your Excellency be pleased to accept the assurances and the testimony of the highest consideration of this Government?

May God guard your Excellency many years.

José Julian Perez,
Antonio A. Gomez,
Nicolas Rodriguez Peña.

Buenos Aires, July 21, 1813.

To the very honorable President of the United States of North America,
Washington.

On the sixth anniversary of the first step toward Argentine independence, in the issue of May 25th, 1816, the following interesting announcement is made in the *Gazeta de Buenos Aires*:—

> We believe that we did not remember to mention on this day the events in the United States. America is the common fatherland of every American against the oppression of the monarchs of Europe, and Washington, although he was born of the north of this part of the globe, is also a fellow-countryman of those who were born in the south. Besides, the revolution in the United States is a finished picture, and a masterpiece of wisdom and virtue; ours is still in the workmen's hands.

Buenos Aires received its news of what Bolivar and other patriots were accomplishing in Colombia, and what is now the Republic of Venezuela, by way of the United States, as well as their information about Mexico. Thus the issue of March 16th, 1814, quotes a long extract from the Boston *Gazette* of September 16th, 1813, "which has just reached us," about a letter from Curacao, dated August 8th, 1813, concerning the recent patriotic victories in Venezuela. Again, in the issue of July 6th, 1816 (three days before the Congress of Tucuman met and consolidated the liberties of the strong young Argentine Provinces), the latest news from Cartagena appeared, culled from papers in the United States. The issue of August 31st, 1816, reprints the famous letter of December 31st, 1815, from the Viceroy of Mexico to the Spanish Government, in which he speaks of the policy of the United States of America, of their interest in the emancipation of the Mexican provinces and in up-

lifting them by its system. When, on October 19th, 1816, a ship arrived from Philadelphia in the record time of two months and five days, bearing important news from Mexico, a special number of the *Gazeta Ordinaria* was prepared.

In the issue for November 20th, 1815, we read the following extract from the London *Chronicle* of September 8th, 1815: "Morelos has established an active and sure means of communicating with the United States. Parties of American volunteers have penetrated into the interior provinces of New Spain, and have given a great impulse to the revolution of that country. Don Pedro Gual, Commissioner of the independent government of New Granada, has just arrived at New York. We know that the Washington Government is trying to facilitate the export of arms to Spanish America, and that the independent flag of that country is cordially received in the United States." President Madison's message to Congress of September 20th, 1814, is reprinted in the issue for February 1st, 1815, with the following comment: "The following message of Mr. Madison to the United States Congress is a state paper which should be published for various reasons, as it gives an exact idea of the condition of that country, and its great resources." On April 6th, 1816, the indefatigable De Forest advertises for sale "A Concise History of the United States of America, from its origin to the year 1807." Possibly some copies of this book were used

by those responsible for the memorable Declaration of Argentine Independence at Tucuman, on July 9th, 1816.

Though Chilean journalism of that time enjoyed a precarious and infrequent existence, it made various references to the United States. The *Aurora*, from which we have previously quoted, was succeeded by the *Monitor Araucano*, which lasted from April 6th, 1813, until after the defeat of the Chilean patriot army at Rancagua, its last issue appearing on September 30th, 1814. President Madison's message to the United States Congress on the war with England was printed in the numbers for July 20th and 22nd, 1813, and another of his messages appeared in the issue for April 22nd, 1814. That for April 19th, mentions the victory of the United States troops over General Proctor, and the destruction of the British fleets on Lakes Ontario and Erie by the United States navy. Later, even the Royalist *Gazeta del Gobierno de Chile* turned to President Madison for inspiration. Even though all the *Auroras* and *Monitor Araucanos* were ordered to be confiscated on January 10th, 1815, the *Gazeta* printed President Madison's message to Congress on the continuation of the war with England in its numbers for July 27th and August 3rd, 1815. It must have been news; but the war with England had been over for six months when it was printed.

On January 2nd, 1814, in a speech made in honor of

Simon Bolivar at Caracas, the Governor of Caracas stated that—

> . . . . a thousand glorious events make the liberator of Venezuela a hero worthy of being placed by the side of the immortal Washington; and to a certain degree he has added to his valor and military skill the wisdom and policy of his companion, Franklin.

The president of the municipality, Juan Antonio Rodriguez Dominguez, in his speech referred to Washington as the "tutelary genius of the freedom of the United States of the North." On this same occasion Domingo Alzuru, well known for the persecutions inflicted on him by the Spaniards, and for his exalted patriotism, stated that—

> . . . . we have a hero . . . . whose name will be written in all the cultured nations of the Universe on a par with that of Washington, and among those of Franklin, Brutus, Decius, Cassius, and Cimbrius.

This ceremony was that through which Bolivar was popularly recognized as Dictator for such time as sufficed to affirm the freedom of the fatherland. One of the most interesting phases of the Pan-Americanism of this period is the relations between the national hero of Uruguay, José Artigas, and the United States of America. They are exemplified in the following letter from Artigas to President James Monroe, dated at Purificacion, September 1st, 1817:—

Most Excellent Sir:

I had the honor to communicate, in the first instance, with Mr. Thomas Lloyd Halsey, Consul of the United States in these provinces, and I have to congratulate myself on so fortunate an incident. I have tendered to him my respects and all my services; and I will avail myself of this favorable occasion of presenting my most cordial respects to your Excellency.

The various events of the Revolution have hitherto deprived me of the opportunity of according this duty with my wishes. I pray your Excellency to be pleased to accept them, now that I have the honor to offer them to you, with the same sincerity that I strive to promote the public weal and the glory of the Republic. All my efforts are directed to their support, aided by the sacrifices of thousands of my fellow-citizens. May heaven grant our wishes.

In that event I shall still more warmly renew to your Excellency the assurance of my cordial regard, and of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, most Excellent Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, respectful and constant servant,

José Artigas.

Consul Halsey was an interesting pioneer of United States interests and influence in the River Plate. His home was in Providence, Rhode Island. Appointed Consul in Buenos Aires by President Madison in May, 1813, he did not arrive there until the end of that year; he continued in office until about January 24th,

1818, the four years of his incumbency being critically historical ones for the country of his official residence. He was a man of somewhat impulsive character, well-intentioned and at times far-seeing, who had very strong ideas on the importance of increasing the prestige of his country in the River Plate countries. He was engaged in business throughout his Consulship, as the Buenos Aires consulate did not become one of career until long afterward. Possibly through these business connections he seems to have been on bad terms with his fellow-countryman David C. De Forest.

Although Halsey is still commendingly referred to in Argentina as having introduced various useful breeds of sheep into that country, he seems to have incurred the displeasure of the Argentine Government at the time of his official residence therein by taking an active part in various political matters, though this very activity doubtless made him friends among the people of Buenos Aires. From various indirect sources it seems highly probable that Halsey offered Artigas asylum in the United States of America, especially as the report that he did so occurs persistently in Uruguayan historical writings. From the somewhat fragmentary correspondence on file in the Department of State at Washington from him, he seems to have been interested in Uruguayan affairs. There is a curious reference in a dispatch of John Murray Forbes, agent of the United States at

Buenos Aires, to the Department of State on December 4th, 1820, to the effect that Halsey had furnished Artigas with arms and had personal correspondence with him. Such action is wholly in accordance with his dispatch to Secretary Monroe of November 7th, 1815, urging the United States to loan money and arms to Argentina, and on July 3rd, 1816, six days before the memorable Congress at Tucuman, he writes again to the Department of State in a similar strain. Before waiting for any authorization or instructions, so far as can be ascertained, he guaranteed a loan made by General Devereux, who was also a citizen of the United States of America, to the Argentine Government; and it would seem that he had a perfect right to do this in his private business capacity, which was often, as in the case of other United States consular representatives at that time, inextricably interwoven with his representative character. Professor Paxson states that this loan "saved the life of the existing Argentine Government." Devereux's commission as General was received from the Government of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata at about this time. In addition to the loan above referred to, he gave the Buenos Airean patriots a large supply of munitions of war. The Supreme Director, Pueyrredón, certainly seemed grateful for the assistance of Halsey and Devereux in this matter, if we may judge from the following letter of his to President Madison, dated January 31st, 1817:—

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

This Government, having been more active than ever in the present struggle, to bring to completion the happy independence which the people have sworn and proclaimed, has endeavored to take every measure to forestall risks and to reckon with results, and to place the seal on the honorable character which we now possess. But, in spite of such worthy endeavors, sufficient impulse has not been given to the cause to drive away the enemy, making him feel the weakness of his enterprise, because of the lack of sufficient funds, has at times paralyzed hostile measures to have full play in other endeavors. In such a hard struggle Providence sent me aid through Mr. John Devereux, to whom I was invited through the Consul of those States, Mr. Thomas Lloyd Halsey, in the form of two million pesos, to be lent to this Government under certain conditions, which I have not hesitated in accepting because of the need which forced me to do so, as well as by the nature of the contract; it has been approved by the competent authorities, and the articles which make it binding, and which are added thereto, have been approved in an agreement with the aforesaid Consul. It only remains for this Government to give it all the protection necessary for its fulfillment, and that is what these people request of Your Excellency through me. Persuaded as they are that the liberty which these states enjoy is the same which yours proclaim, they have such confidence in the guarantee of your Government for this loan that they have already given themselves over to the sweet hopes

of friendly mutual relations, as between brothers, and they offer the most sincere cordiality from now on, and reciprocal union on behalf of the pure cause they defend.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

Now Halsey had evidently not heard of Talleyrand's maxim about avoiding the use of too much zeal; for he went too far in this case; of course the United States could not guarantee any such loan, whatever Halsey and Devereux might have done in their private capacity. But Halsey was doubtless encouraged in his endeavors by the following letter from Ignacio Alvarez to him, dated May 10th, 1815:—

On the 6th instant I took possession of this Government to which the election of this worthy City has destined me in the quality of a substitute; the administration of the State has placed under the direction of other persons, to be put an end to the calamities which the former Government occasioned, although it has not altered in the least the consideration of the estimation and value which the country dispenses to persons who are invested with a public character from foreign powers. There is further a particular motive from distinguishing you from the source of your representation. If from the obstacles that have placed us at a distance, and the lack of communication, we have not maintained closer relations with the United States of the North, we have not been without knowing that reciprocal interest, and the analogy of sentiments invite us to unite our fate

> with the virtuous sons of Washington. In offering myself to you with this new purpose, and with all the considerations of appreciation which you deserve, I think it my duty to beg you to use all the influence you have with your Government, so that when circumstances permit we may be able to receive the assistance that lies in their power, particularly with regard to articles of war, being assured that this Capital will make full payment for them, and that they will advise me when opportunity offers to direct our communications.

This specific request for "assistance with regard to articles of war" later broadened into the mission of Manuel Hermenegildo de Aguirre to the United States of America. Three months after Halsey had ceased to be Consul, on April 28th, 1817, Pueyrredón, who must have been sincerely friendly towards the United States to have written such a letter as the foregoing, addressed President Monroe in the following communication, whose language would indicate that even the disavowal of the loan had not shaken his faith in the good-will and brotherhood of the United States of America. He states that—

> When the interests of sound policy are in accord with the principles of justice, nothing is more easy or more pleasing than the maintenance of harmony and good understanding between Powers which are connected by close relations. This seems to be exactly the case in which the United States and these Provinces stand with respect to each other; a flattering situation, which

> gives the signal of our success, and forms our best apology. It is on this occasion that Citizen Don Manuel Hermenegildo de Aguirre, Commissary General of War, is deputed toward you in the character of Agent of this Government. If his recommendable qualities are the best pledge of the faithful discharge of his commission and of its favorable issue, the upright and generous sentiments of Your Excellency are not less auspicious to it. The concurrence of these circumstances induces me to hope for the most favorable results. I trust, therefore, that Your Excellency will be pleased to grant to the said citizen Aguirre all the protection and consideration required by his diplomatic rank and the present state of our relations. This will be a new tie, by which the the United States of the North will more effectually secure the gratitude and affections of the Free Provinces of the South.

Aguirre left Buenos Aires on May 20th, 1817; on April 19th he had made a contract with George Green, a United States merchant residing in that city, to bring some merchant vessels from the United States for the use of the patriot forces then devoting their energies toward obtaining the independence of the west coast of South America. Forty-two years before, on April 19th, 1775, the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord had fired the shot heard around the world; and now their countrymen were to aid their brothers under the Southern Cross in their struggle for freedom.

Aguirre possessed yet another credential — nothing less than a letter from José de San Martin, General-in-Chief of the Army of the Andes, to President James Monroe. It is a simple, dignified letter that fitly alludes to the similarity of the movement for freedom in both Americas; it is the letter of one of the greatest men that has ever inspired the world with that consistently courageous self-denial without which true patriotism can never exist, or without which great nations cannot be founded. It was written in April, 1817, and deserves to be quoted in full:—

Most Excellent Sir:

Charged by the Supreme Director of the Provinces of South America with the command of the army of the Andes, Heaven crowned my forces with a victory on the 12th of February over the oppressors of the beautiful kingdom of Chile. The sacred rights of nature being restored to the inhabitants of the country by the influence of the national arms and the efficacious impulse of my Government, fortune has opened a favorable field to new enterprises, which secure the power of liberty and the ruin of the enemies of America. Towards securing the consolidation of this object, the Supreme Director of the Government of Chile has considered, as a principal instrument, the armament in these States of a squadron destined to the Pacific Ocean, which, united to the forces that are preparing in the River La Plata, may coöperate in sustaining the ulterior military operations of the army under my command in

South America; and, convinced of the advantages which our political situation promises, I have crossed the Andes in order to concert in that capital, among other things, the guaranty of my Government, and, in compliance with the stipulations between the Supreme Director of Chile and its intimate ally, to carry into effect the plan which has been confided to Don Manuel Aguirre. Your Excellency, who enjoys the honor of presiding over a free people, who contended and shed their blood in a similar cause to that in which the inhabitants of South America are now engaged, will, I hope, deign to extend to the above named person such protection as is compatible with the actual relations of your Government; and I have the high satisfaction of assuring your Excellency that the arms of the country under my orders will not fail to give consistency and respect to the promises of both Governments.

I am happy in having this agreeable occasion to pay tribute to your Excellency of the homage and profound respect with which I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most humble servant,

José de San Martin.

The credential Aguirre possessed from the Government of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States of America, is also quoted below in full:—

It cannot be forgotten that through this heroic revolution the people of this Union have long since directed their gaze toward that great Republic which exists in the North of America.

Since they obtained their glorious liberty, the United States have been like a luminous constellation which indicates the career traced by Providence for the other people of this part of the globe.

Be it pleased, therefore, to receive from the voice of this Government its sincere sentiments on the present occasion and transmit them to his Excellency the President of the United States, so that that worthy magistrate of the first free nation of America may direct his attention to the state in which we now are, and may be pleased to accept the congratulations of this Government, because of the close relations which exist between the people who are charged therewith and ourselves, especially since we no longer belong to Spain, but are independent.

Indeed, this is the precious moment to advance the commercial relations which have already begun, with the advantages which two Governments alike in their nature should promise each other; a consideration whereby you will greatly oblige the Government of this country if you will lay it before the President, assuring him of our constant inclination toward everything that may lead to the prosperity of the United States.

God guard you many years.

MIGUEL IRIGOYEN,
FANCISCO ANTONIO DE ESCALADA,
MANUEL OBLIGADO.

Buenos Aires, July 19th, 1816.

On December 4th, 1817, Cæsar A. Rodney, John Graham, and Theodoric Bland, accompanied by

Henry M. Brackenridge, as Secretary, sailed in the United States frigate "Congress" from Hampton Roads, Virginia, and arrived at Buenos Aires on February 28th, 1818, to accomplish the mission of observation entrusted to them by President Monroe. By October, 1818, the commission had returned to the United States. Graham was afterward United States Minister to Brazil; he was appointed to that post on January 6th, 1819, and died at Rio de Janeiro, while still holding that office, on July 31st, 1820. On January 23rd, 1823, Rodney was confirmed as United States Minister to Buenos Aires, and was the first to hold that office. He left Philadelphia on June 8th, 1823, on the United States frigate "Congress," and arrived there on November 16th, just before the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed (December 2nd, 1823). On June 10th, 1824, he died at Buenos Aires, and the next issues of the Buenos Aires papers appeared in black. Rivadavia's oration over his grave is a masterpiece of genuine Pan-American feeling.

On the 15th of February, 1818, Rivadavia wrote to Gregorio Tagle, who had only just before concluded the Tagle-Irissari treaty with Chile: "I was presented to Lafayette by the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Gallatin. He lent me his active coöperation to prevent the supposed mediation [of European powers in the affairs of Latin America]. He has stated to the Chiefs of the Diplomatic Body that his Govern-

ment cannot fail to recognize South American independence in the course of this year."

As Bland's report on this mission to Buenos Aires is not very well known, and is noteworthy as showing the friendly relations then existing between Argentina and the United States, the following extract therefrom may prove of interest:—

REPORT OF THEODORIC BLAND, ESQ., ON SOUTH AMERICA.

—

BUENOS AIRES.

—

BALTIMORE, 2nd November, 1818.

SIR:

The fair prospects which seemed to be opening upon some portions of the people of South America; the lively sympathy for their cause, felt by citizens of the United States; and the deep interest of our country in the fate of those provinces, where colonial rule, or independent freedom, seems to have been put to issue, and contested with all the energy which such a stake never fails to excite, justly attracted the most serious attention of the government. In whatever disposition of mind the South American contest, and its scenes were contemplated; whether with feelings of benevolence, and with the best wishes, or with regret, and under a sense of injury, the first thought, that which appeared most naturally to arise in the mind of every one, was the want of information as to the actually existing state of things. A new people were evidently making

every possible effort against their transatlantic masters, and preparing themselves to claim a recognition in the society of the nations of the earth. In this struggle, each contending party endeavoring to strike his antagonist beyond the immediate area of the conflict, our commercial rights had frequently received a blow, and our municipal regulations were sometimes violated. New and fertile regions, rich and extensive channels of commerce were apparently about to be opened to the skill and enterprise of the people of the United States; as to all which, their feelings and their interests seemed to require to be gratified with further information. Under these considerations it became the earnest wish, and was deemed the right and duty of our Government to explain the views it had, in some of its measures; by timely representations and remonstrances, to prevent the further injury which our commercial and other rights were likely to sustain; and to procure correct intelligence as to the existing state of affairs in those parts of our Continent, where the revolutionary movement had attracted the most attention and excited the strongest interest.

For this purpose, three persons, of whom I had the honor to be one, were selected and sent in a public ship to South America — who being, among other things, directed that, "if, while in Buenos Aires, they should find it expedient or useful, with reference to the public service, that one or more of them should proceed overland to Chile, they were authorized to act accordingly." They did, therefore, at Buenos Aires take into consider-

ation the expediency and utility of going to Chile, and did there determine, that, under the existing circumstances, it would be expedient and useful for one or more of them to go to that country. In consequence of which I crossed the Andes, and having returned, it now becomes my duty to communicate a statement of such facts, circumstances and documents as I have been able to collect, and which presented themselves as most likely to be of importance, or in any manner useful to the nation.

. . . . . .

We sailed in the United States frigate, the "Congress," from Hampton Roads on the 4th of December, 1817, and touched, as directed, at Rio de Janeiro, where we delivered the despatches committed to our charge to Mr. Sumpter, the Minister of the United States resident there. After a stay of a few days, we proceeded thence direct for the River Plate, which we ascended in the "Congress" as far as Montevideo. Mr. Graham and myself visited that city and found it, with the country immediately around, to the extent of about three miles, in the actual possession of a Portuguese army, under the command of General Lacor. We were treated by the General with politeness, and an offer was made by him of permission to procure there, every facility we might want to convey us thence to Buenos Aires, and also of leave to obtain from the ship every refreshment and accommodation we might want. Finding that it would be impossible for the "Congress" to proceed much further up the river, owing to there not being a sufficient depth of

water for her over a bar between Montevideo and Buenos Aires, which traverses the river entirely, and on which it is only eighteen feet deep, we took passage thence in a small vessel and landed at Buenos Aires on the 28th day of February last [1818].

After consulting and advising together, as to the extent, object, and manner of executing our instructions, it seemed to us, that no time should be lost in presenting ourselves to the Government, or chief constituted authorities of the place; and, in making known to them all these subjects, which we were directed to present to their view. In arranging those points, it was deemed most proper, in the first place, to express the friendly and neutral disposition of our Government, and to place in a fair and amicable point of view those measures which it had been supposed were likely to be interesting, or materially to effect the feelings, or the claims of the people of the River Plate; and then to present the injuries many of the citizens of the United States had sustained, and the infractions of their laws, which had been committed by armed vessels, assuming the name and character of patriots, belonging to the independent governments of South America, and to seek the information which our Government had directed us to obtain; and which it had been deemed most advisable to procure from the public functionaries themselves as far as practicable.

Accordingly, after ascertaining the names and style of the principal personages in authority, we called on his honor El Señor Don Gregorio Tagle, the Secretary of State; and having made known

to him who we were, and expressed our wish to have an interview with the chief magistrate of the country, a day and hour was appointed for the purpose, when we called, and were, accordingly, introduced by the Secretary of State to His Excellency, El Señor Don Juan Martin de Pueyrredón, the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of South America. After the interchange of some complimentary expressions of politeness, good wishes, and friendly dispositions, we made known to the director, in general terms, the character of special agents, in which we had been sent by our Government to communicate with him; and that our communications might be either with himself or with his secretary. The director replied, that they would be received in a spirit of brotherly friendship, and in that form and through either of those channels which we should deem most convenient.

In a short time after our introduction to the director, and in about a week after our arrival, we waited on the Secretary of State, as being the most formal, and respectful, mode of making our communications to this new and provisional revolutionary government. We stated to the Secretary, that our Government had not viewed the struggle now pending between the provinces of South America and Spain, merely as a rebellion of colonists; but as a civil war, in which each party was entitled to equal rights and equal respect; and that the United States had, therefore, assumed and would preserve the most impartial, and the strictest good faith, a neutral position; and in the preservation of this neutrality, according to the

established rules of the law of nations, no rights, privileges, or advantages would be granted by our Government to one of the contending parties which would not, in like manner, be extended to the other. The Secretary expressed his approbation of this course; but in an interview subsequent to the first, when the neutral position of the United States was again spoken of, he intimated a hope that the United States might be induced to depart from its rigid neutrality in favor of his Government—to which we replied, that as to what our Government might be induced to do, or what would be its future policy toward the patriots of South America we could not, nor were we authorized to say anything.

[Here follows a long report of verbal inquiries addressed by the Commissioners to the Secretary on the subject of Amelia Island.]

To which the Secretary replied, that the Government of Buenos Aires had not before been informed, or heard of the abuses committed by those who had taken possession of Amelia Island and Galveston; that it had no connection whatever with those who had exercised any authority at either of those places, and that the removal of those establishments could not fail to be attended with good consequences to the patriot cause, by preventing any improper imputation being cast on it; and therefore his Government could, certainly, only see in that measure of the United States the manifestations towards it of the most friendly disposition. We stated to the Secretary, that it had been understood, that many unprincipled and abandoned persons, who had obtained commis-

sions as privateers from the independent patriot Government, had committed great depredations on our commerce, and had, evidently, got such commissions, not so much from any regard to the cause of independence and freedom, as with a view to plunder; and that we entertained a hope, that there would be a due degree of circumspection exercised by that Government in granting commissions which, in their nature, were so open to abuse.

The Secretary replied, that there had hitherto been no formal complaint made against any of the cruisers of Buenos Aires; and that if any cause of complaint should exist, his Government would not hesitate to afford proper redress, on a presentation and proof of the injury; that the Government of Buenos Aires had taken every possible precaution in its power, in such cases, that it had established and promulgated a set of rules and regulations for the government of its private armed vessels, a copy of which should be furnished us; and that it had, in all cases, as far as possible, enjoined and enforced a strict observance of those regulations and the law of nations.

We stated to the Secretary, that a considerable portion of the people of the United States had manifested a very favorable disposition towards the patriot cause in South America; and the Government, also, had every disposition to treat the patriot authorities with the justice, dignity and favor which they merited, that although our Government had, for the present, determined on adhering to a strict and impartial neutrality between the contending parties, it might yet deem

it politic and just hereafter to adopt other measures; and therefore, with a view to regulate its conduct and policy with perfect good faith and candour, as well as with regard to its neutrality, as with regard to any other measures it might deem advisable to take, it had charged us, as special agents, to seek and endeavor to obtain, in this country, such information as to the actual state of things, as would enable it to act with correctness, precision, and understandingly in whatever course it may hereafter pursue. . . . . We assured the Secretary, that our Government sought this information from an experience of the want of it, and in the spirit of the most perfect amity; that until the commencement of the present revolutionary movements in that country, it had been so comparatively locked up from the eye, observation and intercourse of every foreign nation, that the real state of things in it had been but very imperfectly, and, in some respects, were wholly unknown; that the friendship so openly and de-decidedly expressed by a considerable portion of the people of the United States would furnish conclusive proof of the spirit of good-will in which this information was sought; and, in itself, was a guarantee that their Government would, under no circumstances, use the communications that might be made for improper or unfriendly purposes towards the people of that country. But, if that Government should think proper to note any communications it should make, as private and confidendial, we pledged ourselves that our Government would never suffer it to go to the public; if, indeed, there could be wanting

any other more solemn and decided manifestation of respect, on its part, than the very act itself of our having been sent in a public ship of war to have this intercourse with them. The Secretary, in reply, said that his government had the greatest confidence in the friendly dispositions of that of the United States; and that the people of the two countries were friends toward each other as brothers; felt as such, and would act toward each other as brothers; that the information asked for would certainly be granted; . . . . . that, as regarded foreign nations, they had, hitherto, had no official communication with any of them; and that their relations with all, except Spain, were those of mere peace, such as were obvious to the world, without any treaty or stipulation whatever. . . . .

But this chapter cannot be closed without quoting an important dispatch written in this same year, 1817, to James Monroe, President of the United States of America, by one of the greatest of South Americans,— Bernardo O'Higgins, which reads as follows:—

SANTIAGO DE CHILE,
April 1st, 1817.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR:

The beautiful kingdom of Chile having been re-established on the 12th day of February last by the army of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, under the command of the brave General Don José de San Martin, and the supreme direction of the state being conferred on me by choice of the people, it becomes my duty to

announce to the world the new asylum which these countries offer to the industry and friendship of the citizens of all nations of the globe.

The inhabitants of Chile, having thus reassumed their natural rights, will not hereafter submit to be despoiled of their just prerogatives, nor tolerate the sordid and pernicious policy of the Spanish cabinet. In its numerous population, and the riches of its soil, Chile presents the basis of a solid and durable power, to which the independence of this precious portion of the New World will give the fullest security. The knowledge and resources of the neighboring nation of Peru, which has resolved to support our emancipation, encourage the hope of the future prosperity of these regions, and of the establishment, on liberal grounds, of a commercial and political intercourse with all nations. If the cause of humanity interests the feelings of Your Excellency, and the identity of the principles of our present contest with those which formerly prompted the United States to assert independence disposes your Government and people favorable towards our cause, Your Excellency will always find me most earnestly desirous of promoting the commercial and friendly relations of the two countries, and of removing every obstacle to the establishment of most perfect harmony and good understanding.

God guard you many years.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

CHAPTER II.

Citizens of the United States of America who Took Part in the Latin-American War of Independence, 1810-1826

IT should always be remembered, in discussing the United States of America who took part in the Latin-American Wars of Independence, that the United States of America was at that time in a very different position from England or France, which countries furnished so many more volunteers to that noble cause. During three years of the period in question the United States was herself at war. Yet during this time the brave Baltimorean, Alexander Macaulay, laid down his life for the freedom of Colombia at Popayan. During all this period the United States was itself expanding and opening up vast tracts of land for cultivation and settlement. Yet more vessels flying the Stars and Stripes entered the harbor of Buenos Aires in 1810 than in 1910; there were more American than English ships in the harbor of Buenos Aires in 1824, and far more on the west coast of South America in 1813 than in 1913.

Let us now briefly discuss the careers of a few typical citizens of the United States of America who struggled for the freedom of their brothers in the South.

First and foremost comes Charles Whiting Wooster, Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean navy. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1785, and died in California in 1848. His sister Julia married David C. De Forest, one of the first American merchants in Buenos Aires; she accompanied him thither in 1812, and lived there for five years, when they returned to New London. He was the grandson of General David Wooster, who was one of the eight brigadier-generals first named by the United States in 1776. In 1812 he commanded the United States privateer "Saratoga," which captured the English letter of marque "Rachel" off La Guaira, Venezuela. The "Saratoga" took twenty-two British vessels in her entire career, from 1812 to 1815,—a fact which may explain Cochrane's dislike of Wooster and the sneering allusion to him in Julian Corbett's "Life of Cochrane." In 1817 he arrived in Valparaiso with his armed brig "Columbus," which he had equipped at his own expense and which the Chilean Government bought from him, and then placed it under his command, giving him the rank of captain, the ship being renamed the "Araucano." At 9 A.M. on October 19th, 1818, Wooster left Valparaiso in command of the "Lautaro," forty-six guns, and while in command of her he was the first to board the Spanish man-of-war "Maria Isabel," in the Talcuahuano harbor on October 28th, 1818, just a month before Admiral Cochrane arrived in Chile.

He was out of the Chilean navy from January 14th, 1819, until 1822, when he reëntered that service, and was again placed in command of the "Lautaro." As captain of that vessel he took part in an expedition that Colonel Beauchef sent to recover the province of Valdiva. It will be remembered that Beauchef was in New York City when he was engaged for the patriot armies in October, 1816. Wooster was still in command of the "Lautaro" in January, 1823, and took part in both campaigns for the island of Chiloe, in the last of which he commanded the "Achilles." A mutiny occurred on the "Lautaro" a short while before this, on October 25th, 1822, and Wooster showed great coolness on this occasion, taking the ship to Valparaiso. From the 15th of October, 1825, to 1829 he was in command of the Chilean navy, in which latter year he was made rear-admiral, and retired from the service. Another of his exploits was the conveying of General Santa Cruz to Bolivia, of which country he had been made president, while Bolivian minister to Chile. In his "Biographias de Hombres Notables de Chile," published in Santiago de Chile in 1870, José Bernardo Suarez states that "as a seaman, Rear-Admiral Wooster can only be compared to Lord Cochrane among the foreigners who commanded our ships. His ships, his crews, and their equipment, were the best that our navy had. He was rigid and severe in discipline."

At least two citizens of the United States of

America laid down their lives for Chile during her war for independence. Lieutenant Charles Eldridge, who had formerly served in the United States navy, and who had arrived at Buenos Aires from Baltimore on the ship "Clifton" on the 9th of February, 1817, was killed in the attack by General Las Heras at Talcuahuano on December 6th, 1817. Another lieutenant in the Chilean navy was Freeman Oxley, who was killed while serving on the Chilean man-of-war "Galvarino" by fire from the battery of San Carlos in the island of Chiloe on January 11th, 1826. A little over two years before this, in the engagement between the Chilean ship "Montezuma" and the royalist Spanish ship from Chileo, the "General Quintanilla," on December 11th, 1823, his bravery had received especial commendation; and the Chilean historian, Barros Arana, states that at the time of his death he was beginning a brilliant career for himself in the Chilean navy by his intrepidity at all costs.

Danial Carson, who had formerly been a lieutenant in the United States navy, and who came out with Eldridge on the "Clifton," was wounded at the attack on Talcuahuano, at the time when Eldridge was killed. He afterward commanded a company of marines in Lord Cochrane's descent on Guayaquil, which occurred on November 25th, 1819. Lieutenant Manning was also wounded in the same attack on Talcuahuano, and Ezekiel Jewett and William Kennedy also served in the Chilean navy. The brothers

Paul and William Delano, who came from Massachusetts, and whose descendants have played such a noteworthy and prominent part in the history of Chile, both served in the Chilean squadron during the war of independence. They seemed to have both entered it in July, 1819, and William Delano was one of the three United States officers who accompanied General San Martin to Peru from Chile in August, 1820, commanding the transports in that expedition. He also took a prominent part in the Peruvian campaign of that year and the next. On July 22nd, 1813, Captain Henry Ross, a United States engineer, was declared to be "benemerito de la Patria" by the Chilean Government.

We have alluded in a previous chapter to Samuel B. Johnston, who arrived at Valparaiso on November 21st, 1811, after a voyage of one hundred and twenty-two days from New York in the "Galloway" with the printing-press from the United States. Johnston's Chilean experiences are detailed in a fascinatingly adventurous style in a book published by R. I. Curtis at Erie, Pa., in 1816, which is probably the first book published in the United States of America relating to Chile. It is entitled "Letters Written During a Residence of Three Years in Chile: containing an account of the most remarkable events in the Revolutionary struggles in that Province, with an interesting account of the loss of a Chilean ship, and brig-of-war by mutiny, and the consequent imprisonment and

suffering of several citizens of the United States, for six months, in the dungeons of Callao; by Samuel B. Johnston, formerly in the service of the Patriots." As it almost wholly relates to Johnston's services in the Chilean navy, as a result of which not merely was Chilean citizenship conferred on him, but also the following letter was addressed to Captain Edward Barnewall, who formerly commanded the brig in question, by the Supreme Chilean Junta, it will be considered in this chapter. It is noteworthy as showing the prominent part played by citizens of the United States of America in the earliest days of the Chilean War of Independence. The letter in question, which is dated December 3rd, 1813, reads as follows:—

> We have received your official communication relative to the loss of the ship "Pearl" and the brig "Colt." We are fully convinced that this took place in consequence of a treasonable conspiracy, and are also apprized of the hardships you have endured in captivity. The country is convinced of your merit and its representatives are deliberating in what manner to reward and distinguish those who have labored with fidelity in its cause.
>
> May God preserve you many years.
>
> José Miguel Infante,
> Agustín de Eyzaguirre,
> José Ignacio Cienfuegos.
>
> Talca, December 3, 1813.

It appears from this book that in April, 1813, the Chilean Government purchased the United States armed brig "Colt," which mounted eight long twelve-inch guns, ten nine-pound cannonades, two long six-inch guns and two swivels. She had a crew of ninety men, sixteen of whom were citizens of the United States of America. Their names and ranks were: William Barnet, sailing master; Samuel Dusenbury, midshipman; Timothy Chase, master's mate, of the "Pearl"; Henry Heacock, master's mate; John S. Waters, carpenter; Peter N. Hanson, gunner; John Heck, interpreter; Henry Smith, seaman; William McKoy, seaman; Sevemo Denton, seaman; James Dawmas, seaman; Moses Pierce, seaman; Le Roy Laws, seaman; Willis Forbes, seaman; Jeremiah Green, seaman; Frederick Rasmonson, seaman.

Her former chief officer, who was placed in command of her, was also a citizen of the United States of America, named Edward Barnewall. Johnston himself was commissioned as "Teniente de Fragata," first lieutenant in the Chilean navy. The "Colt" was ready for sea on April 26th, but was treacherously captured by Spaniards from Peru, which was still held by Spain, on May 2nd, and her crew were held in captivity until their release by a decree of the Viceroy, Pezuela, of September 13th, 1813. On November 6th, 1813, they returned to Valparaiso, and Johnston reached Santiago on December 8th, 1813. He left Chile in the "Essex Junior" on April 27th, 1814,

having had Chilean citizenship conferred on him in the previous month. As we have previously seen, the "Colt" was back in Valparaiso when Admiral Porter arrived there on March 15th, 1813.

In Argentina we find Dr. Franklin Rawson, of Essex County, Massachusetts, rendering important services in the war of independence. He was the father of the distinguished Dr. Guillermo Rawson, who was in the cabinet of Argentina under President Mitre, and for whom the town of Rawson in the Patagonian territory of the Chubut is named. John Anthony King was born in New York City in 1803. He arrived at Buenos Aires in 1817 from Baltimore, probably on a vessel sent out thence by the Argentine commissioner, Aguirre. He was commissioned a flag-bearer (*bandero*) by the Supreme Director, Pueyrredón in 1818, and was afterwards promoted to be an adjutant and colonel in the Argentine army. He took part in the Peruvian and other campaigns, and was also captain in the service of Upper Peru of Bolivia. He fascinating book, "Twenty-four Years in Argentina," is recommended to all who desire a vivid narrative of an interesting period in that great country's history. Although John Halstead Coe, of Newark, New Jersey (1805-1864), is best known for his having been appointed by General Rivera commander-in-chief of the Uruguayan navy in 1841, he had served since 1826 in the Argentine navy, distinguishing himself particularly therein in 1827, under

that gallant Irishman, William Brown. Coe married, on July 7th, 1828, at Trinidad, the daughter of the Argentine general, Balcarce, and had large estates in the province of Entre Rios. A dispatch from the United States Consul General, John Murray Forbes, to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, of December 4th, 1820, mentions a Commodore Taylor, of Baltimore, in the Buenos Aires service. Coe was sixth in descent from the Puritan immigrant, Robert Coe.

We have already seen that thirty citizens of the United States of America accompanied Miranda on his expedition to Venezuela in 1806. In the year 1818 John Daniel Daniels, of Baltimore (1786-1865), became a captain in the Colombian navy, Colombia then including what are now the sister republics of Venezuela and Ecuador. In 1822 Daniels, who was then acting as the agent for the Colombian Government in the United States of America, purchased the beautiful corvette "Hercules," built by Mr. Eckford, of New York City, in the fall of 1822. He embarked from that place for La Guaira on October 2nd, 1822. The "Hercules" afterward took the name of "Bolivar"; Señora Antonia Bolivar, sister of the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, came out on her on this voyage, accompanied by her daughter Josephine and son Paul. The vessel carried twenty-five thirty-two-pounders, such as were then usually carried by the United States corvettes, besides two brass twenty-four-pound cannon on her forecastle. Her crew consisted

of two hundred and twenty splendid seamen, principally of the crew from the United States frigate "Macedonian," which had been for the preceding three years off the west coast of South America, having arrived at Valparaiso from Boston on January 28th, 1819. An incident that Henry Hill tells of her encounter with Lord Cochrane at Callao in 1820 is worth repeating :—

> When Lord Cochrane was blockading Callao with three ships of war, it was reported at Valparaiso that he had said he was able to enforce the blockade, and would not allow the "Macedonian" or any ship-of-war or merchant ship to enter. Captain Downes, U. S. N., commanding the "Macedonian," had previously announced his intention to sail for Callao on a certain day, and when these reports came to him he with difficulty restrained himself, merely remarking that he should leave at the appointed time and should be happy to take letters, etc. But he said to me, "I will tell *you* my plan. If Cochrane attempts to stop me I shall pour a broadside into him, aiming all my guns to one point, hoping to sink him at once. If I succeed in this, I can easily dispose of the other two ships." He sailed on the day set; and on approaching Lord Cochrane's ship the "Macedonian" passed her stern, the two commanders standing on their respective quarter-decks, speaking-trumpets in hand, and Lord Cochrane shouted "Hope Captain Downes is well." "Thank you; left Lady Cochrane well, eight days ago." The "Macedonian" then ran under the lee of the

other ship, backed her topsails, and Captain Downes sent his first lieutenant to Lord Cochrane, with his compliments. He then filled away and entered the harbor. When the "Macedonian" had anchored, Lord Cochrane sent Captain Forster, his flag-captain, who was his brother-in-law, with his respects to Captain Downes. Captain Forster was somewhat surprised to find that the cabins had been removed and a gun placed wherever there was room for one, and that the men were all at quarters.

To return to Daniels. In 1845 Venezuela passed a law granting him a pension for life. Lieutenant Christie, formerly of the United States navy, served under him on the "Bolivar" in 1822. It must have been about this time that Lieutenant Hawley, of Baltimore, a brother of Miss Betsey Hawley of that city, was also serving in that navy.

On the 26th day of January, 1813, the young Alexander Macauley, whose family seem also to have resided in Baltimore, although he was born in New York City, and who had been serving for at least two years in the Colombian patriot army, was shot at Pasto, Colombia, by the Spanish forces who had taken him prisoner. His brilliant victory over the Spaniards at Popayan, on April 27th, 1811, is still remembered, and is favorably commented on by Colombian historians. A short time thereafter he was ordered by the patriot general, Cabal, to go to the aid of President Joaquim Caicedo, who was then im-

prisoned in Pasto, and after several checks he was victorious at Juanambú and Buesaco. By the armistice of July 26th, Caicedo was freed from Pasto, and not long afterward Macaulay won another victory over the royalist forces at Calambuco, on August 12th, 1811. He had the grade of colonel in the Colombian army.

William Yeates and Nathaniel Doolett served in the Brazilian navy about the year 1820.

CHAPTER III.

The Pan-Americanism of Henry Clay

WHEN on February 9th, 1852, Henry Clay's admiring friends presented him with a gold medal, at the sunset of his long and useful life, on the reverse of which were inscribed the dates by which he wished to be remembered, the two of the fourteen that had the most prominent place were "Spanish America, 1822"; and "Panama Instructions, 1826."

The visitor to the capital of the United States of America sees hanging in one of the large corridors near the meeting-place of the House of Representatives a large portrait of Henry Clay, with his index finger pointing to South America on a large globe of the world. It was thus that he wished the future lawmakers of his country — those who would control its destiny — to remember him.

This is the man to whom the distinguished Argentine author, Dr. Miguel Cané, in his Introduction to the 1905 edition of President Roque Saenz Peña's speeches, says that a statue should be erected in every South American capital; and that his name — the name of the "noble and kind-hearted Clay" — should be on one of the streets of Buenos Aires.

Let us see on what actions these fellow Pan-Americans, six thousand miles away, base their regard

for the great Kentuckian who has been dead, but not forgotten, for sixty years.

On January 29th, 1816, while the South American wars of independence were raging, Henry Clay, who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, opposed, in a long speech, the reduction of the taxes imposed as a consequence of the war of 1812, because, among other reasons, the United States might have openly "to take part with the patriots of South America." Nearly a year later, on January 24th, 1817, he vigorously opposed a bill intended to stop the fitting out of armed cruisers in the United States ports, on the ground that it might be disadvantageous to the South Americans, who were still nobly maintaining their struggle for freedom. On December 3rd, 1817, the day before the U. S. frigate "Congress" sailed for Buenos Aires with Commissioners Graham, Bland and Rodney on board, Clay offered a motion in the House, which was accepted without opposition, instructing the committee on the President's message to inquire what was necessary to secure the South Americans their rights as belligerents.

But it was on March 24th, 1818, that his soundest and most historically Pan-American speech was delivered in the House of Representatives,—when he besought the aid of the United States for their fellow-Americans, for "eighteen millions of people struggling to burst their chains and be free." The nature of

this classic oration can be judged from the following extract therefrom:—

> In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America, the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we had or can have so much at stake. This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There can not be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, whatever may be the form of the governments established in its several parts, these governments will be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy. They will obey the laws of the New World, of which they will compose a part. . . . .
>
> We are their great example. Of us they constantly speak as of brothers, having a similar origin. They adopt our principles, copy our institutions, and in many instances employ the very language and sentiments of our revolutionary papers.
>
> But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant and to superstitious to admit of the existance of free government. This charge of ignorance is often urged by persons themselves actually ignorant of the real condition of that people. I deny the alleged fact of ignorance; I deny the inference from that fact, if it were true, that they want capacity for free government; and I refuse assent to the further conclusion, if the

fact were true, and the inference just, that we are to be indifferent to their fate. All the writers of the most established authority, Depons, Humboldt, and others, concur in assigning to the people of South America, great quickness, genius, and particular aptitude for the acquisition of the exact sciences, and others which they have been allowed to cultivate. In astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, botany, and so forth, they are allowed to make distinguished proficiency. They justly boast of their Abzate, Velasques and Gama, and other illustrious contributors to science. They have nine universities, and in the City of Mexico, it is affirmed by Humboldt, that there are more solid scientific establishments than in any city even in North America. I would refer to the message of the Supreme Director of La Plata [Pueyrredón] as a model of composition of a State paper, challenging the comparison with any, the most celebrated, that ever issued from the pens of Jefferson or Madison. . . . .

We may safely trust to the daring enterprise of our merchants. The precious medals are in South America, and they will command the articles wanted in South America, which will purchase them. Our navigation will be benefitted by the transportation, and our country will realize the mercantile profits. Already the item in our exports of American manufactures is respectable. They go chiefly to the West Indies and to South America, and this item is constantly augmenting.

How clearly the allusions in this speech show Clay's carefully concise study of Latin-American

history and conditions! Joaquin Velasques (July 21st, 1732-March 6th, 1786) was one of the most distinguished of the many noted astronomers whom Mexico has produced. He was the author of many valuable works on Mexican and Californian natural history and mineralogy. His astronomical observations in California, which are among the very first in that part of the world, where the great Lick observatory now continues his labors, are especially noteworthy in view of his observations of the transit of Venus on June 5th, 1769. His labors in connection with the topographical and geodetic survey of the Valley of Mexico, with whose superintendence he was charged in 1774, are the basis of all the excellent system of surveys for which our sister Republic of Mexico is noted. In 1783 he established in Mexico the first school of mines in North America.

But Henry Clay's efforts did not stop with his speech. On May 20th, 1820, he introduced a motion into the House of Representatives to inaugurate diplomatic intercourse with "any of the governments in South America which have established and are maintaining their independence of Spain." It passed by a vote of eighty to seventy-five. On February 6th, 1821, Clay secured the passage of a resolution by the House of Representatives "That the House of Representatives participate with the people of the United States in the deep interest which they feel for the Spanish Provinces of South America, which are

struggling to establish their liberty and independence, and that it will give its constitutional support to the President of the United States whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of the said Provinces"; the first clause of this important legislative decision being passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-four to twelve, and the second by a vote of eighty-seven to sixty-eight.

As a result of this action, President Monroe sent a special message to Congress on March 8th, 1822, and "A resolution to establish foreign intercourse with the independent nations of South America" was passed by a vote of one hundred and fifty-nine to one. This measure became a law on May 4th, 1822; and on June 20th, 1822, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams proposed to President Monroe that the mission of the United States of America to the Republic of Colombia should be offered to Henry Clay. He informed the President that "The Republic of Colombia, and particularly Bolivar, with whom Clay has been in correspondence, will be flattered by his appointment, or even by information that he had the offer of it. In relations to be established between us and that Republic, Mr. Clay's talents might be highly useful"; and the President appeared to be well disposed toward this suggestion. An important event in Pan-American history had occured the day before which rendered it imperative that the mission of the

United States to the sister Republic of Colombia, in whose beautiful city of Bogotá the patriot Antonio Nariño had portraits of Franklin in his house as early as 1793, should be filled as soon as possible. It was on June 19th, 1822, that the first formal act of recognition of the South American Government took place, when Secretary Adams presented Mr. Manuel Torres to President Monroe as Chargé d'Affaires from the Republic of Colombia, at the White House. Mr. Adams notes in his diary that "Torres was deeply affected by it. He spoke of the great importance to the Republic of Colombia of this recognition, and of his assurance that it would give extraordinary gratification to Bolivar."

It was certainly gratifying to President Monroe. He invited Torres, who was then very ill (he died in Philadelphia on July 15th, 1822, in great distress) to be seated, sat down by him, and spoke to him with kindness "which moved him even to tears." He assured him of the great interest taken by the United States in the welfare and success of his country, and of the peculiar satisfaction with which he received him as its representative.

On this very 19th of June a letter was written to Henry Clay by Captain Eugenio Cortes, of the Mexican navy, which shows how he was regarded in Mexico, enclosing one from the Emperor, Agustín de Iturbide, which shows how Clay was regarded in Latin America.

A year later we find a similar Pan-American manifestitation in the following letter written to the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America from the House of Representatives of the Republic of Colombia, eager to show its appreciation of the coöperation of one of the most prominent men in the country, which the distinguished Ecuadorian, Rocafuerte, called "The Sister Republic of the North":—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
BOGOTÁ, April 25, 1823.

To MR. C. S. TODD, Chargé d'Affaires:

The House of Representatives has received with the most lively sense of gratitude the valuable present you have had the goodness to offer. [An engraved portrait of Henry Clay.] It duly appreciates the generous sentiments manifested in the address with which you accompanied it; sentiments very worthy of the country of Washington and Franklin.

The House will not fail to pay that profound tribute of respect which is due to the Honorable Henry Clay, the intrepid advocate of the cause of Colombia; and while it reserves to itself the occasion of manifesting in a more conspicuous manner the high esteem of which he is worthy, you will condescend to communicate to him the wishes which the House cherishes for the prosperity of the United States.

God guard you.

[Signed] DOMINGO CAYCEDO,
President of the Hou

It was at this time that engraved portraits of Henry Clay, with extracts from his speeches advocating South American independence, were scattered broadcast about the leading cities and towns of South America. One of these, published in Buenos Aires, now hangs on the walls of the United States Embassy in that beautiful Argentine capital.

When Henry Clay became Secretary of State of the United States of America in March, 1825, a broader sphere of Pan-American activity was presented to him. His zeal to promote the brotherhood of the American nations had now wider opportunities, and his responsibility was great in furthering what must be regarded as one of the main purposes of his useful and constructive life. His efforts to make the Congress of Panama in 1826 a success from a truly Pan-American point of view are typical of his sustained interest, which marks him as the precursor of James G. Blaine, Joaquim Nabuco, and many other great Pan-Americans whose happy influence leads us to follow and imitate them.

As soon as the intention of Simon Bolivar — who, as we have seen, greatly admired Clay — to hold this first parliament of all the Americas, which had been urged as early as 1810 by Juan Martinez de Rosas in Chile, by the Mexican Mier, in 1812, and by the Junta of Caracas in Venezuela, and had since been promoted by San Martin and Unánue in South and Valle in Central America, became known to him, he bent all

his official and personal energies toward that end. As the historian Schouler says, "His zeal won President John Quincy Adams's favor to the plan and dissolved the doubts of his fellow-advisors." Not all of them could have doubted; Rush, the Secretary of the Treasury, had been most Pan-American in his conduct as United States Minister to England; and Attorney-General William Wirt had expressed himself as the friend of his fellow-Americans. Clay frequently consulted with Señor Obregon, the Mexican Minister, as well as with Señor Salazar, the Colombian Minister, and the other Latin-American representatives in Washington, including General Carlos de Alvear from Buenos Aires — to whom, by the way, the first special passport ever issued by the State Department was granted.

In 1827 the young Fernando Bolivar, nephew and ward of the great Liberator, who had had him educated in the United States of America, at Germantown, Pennsylvania, and at the University of Virginia, was introduced by Judge Peters to Henry Clay. Forty-six years later he noted in his Reminiscences the impressions that Clay's tall, slender and impressive figure and penetrating blue eyes made on him. We can be very sure that when Fernando returned to Bogotá, where his illustrious uncle was then living, he told him of his meeting with his great Pan-American; and, as Bolivar and Clay had long been in correspondence, any news direct from the

North must have been doubly agreeable to the great *caraqueno.*

It is not generally known that, in his efforts to have as important a delegation as possible from the United States at that momentous gathering, he urged Albert Gallatin, one of the most distinguished citizens of the United States, who had been for thirteen years Secretary of the Treasury and was soon afterward appointed Minister to England, to be one of the representatives of the United States of America at Panama. Gallatin's reply to Clay's offer of this mission, written on November 14th, 1825, breathes the Pan-American spirit:—

> No one can be more sensible than I am, both of the importance of laying the foundation of a permanent friendship between the United States and our sister Republics, and of the distinguished honor conferred on the persons selected to be the representatives of our glorious and happy country at the first Congress of the Independent Powers of this Hemisphere. . . . .

Secretary Clay was very careful to choose able and distinguished men for all of his Latin-American appointments. Poinsette and Forbes, at Mexico and Buenos Aires, were among the first trained diplomatists of the United States of America; William Henry Harrison, who was sent to Bogotá, was afterward President of the United States of America; Condy Raguet, at Rio de Janeiro, came of a well-known

Philadelphia family, and was himself prominent (a beautiful piece of furniture given him by Dom Pedro I, of Brazil, now in the possession of the family of the writer, shows how he was appreciated in that great Portuguese-speaking country); William Tudor, at Lima, was a prominent merchant and first editor of the *North American Review*, who afterward died as United State Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro in 1830; and Heman Allen, in Chile, was an able Vermont lawyer, whose talents were needed on the busy west coast.

It is a beautiful and inspiring touch of the many-sided character of Henry Clay that so much of his public service should have been so inspired by Pan-Americanism.

CHAPTER IV

The Pan-American Origin of the Monroe Doctrine

SO much has been written regarding the origin of the Monroe Doctrine and on the supposed effects of the various causes contributing to its origin, toward its application at various times to different situations, that the only excuse that can be offered for discussing this phase of it must be to cover it from some fresh point of view.

The distinguished Peruvian diplomatist and author, Dr. Aníbal Maúrtua, on page 20 of his book "La Idea Panamericana y la cuestión de Arbitraje," published in Lima in 1901, refers to President Monroe's message of December 2nd, 1823, announcing the Monroe Doctrine, as a "Pan-American Declaration." The great Argentine international jurist, Carlos Calvo, called it "declaratory of complete American independence," and the Peruvian author, Carlos Arenas y Loayza, states in his excellent monograph on the Monroe Doctrine, published in Lima in 1905, that "the Monroe Doctrine is linked with our past and with our present, and gives us the key of the future of these republics, considered in relation to the events of our times and the indications of the future; which republics, extending over the same continent, form one sole body, are called on to have one and

the same spirit and to work in accord, in edifying friendship for justice and peace on earth."

Whence comes this Pan-American nature of the Monroe Doctrine? It comes from its Pan-American origin.

In the instructions of Secretary Monroe to Alexander Scott, agent of the United States of America to Venezuela, dated May 14th, 1812, we find the following statement:—

> The United States are disposed to render to the Government of Venezuela, in its relations with foreign Powers, all the good offices that they may be able. Instructions have been already given to their Ministers at Paris, St. Petersburg, and London, to make known to those Courts that the United States take an interest in the independence of the Spanish Provinces.

The next link in the chain occurs in July, 1821, two years and six months before the famous Doctrine was actually issued, in a dispatch from Mr. Thomas L. L. Brent, American Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, to the Secretary of State, dated July 10th, 1821:—

> As far as I have been able to form an opinion, it is, that the foreign Powers during the agitation of the American question, have endeavored to prevent any arrangement between the parties.

On the 9th of July Mr. Brent had an interview with Mr. Ravenga, one of the commissioners of Bolivar, at Mr. Ravenga's request.

He calculated, he said, upon the friendship of the United States to promote the independence of the Republic of Colombia; he had a full conviction that he could rely upon it. Mr. Monroe, when Secretary of State, had informed him that all the Ministers of the United States in Europe had instructions to advance the acknowledgment of their independence by foreign Powers.

I sympathized with him in the unpleasant situation in which he was placed, and feared that the sentiment in Spain was not as favorable as could be desired. He was perfectly justified, I said, in relying upon the good dispositions of the United States. It was their interest and their sincere wish that the acknowledgment of the independence of South America should be accelerated. The United States had not only been more forward than any other Power in publishing to the world their wishes with respect to her, but had accompanied them with actions, which certainly afforded the best proof of their sincerity; and among them, I adverted to the message of the President to the Congress of the United States at the commencement of its last session, in which, alluding to the proposed negotiation between the late colonies and Spain, the basis of which, if entered upon, would be the acknowledgment of their independence, he says: "To promote that result by friendly counsels, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of the Government of the United States."

The friendship of the United States, he said, was very grateful to the Republic of Colombia, and he hoped and expected that, at the commencement

of the next meeting of Congress, the acknowledgment of its independence would be decided upon; the moment had arrived when all the Powers of the world would see the propriety of it. He calculated that the United States would be the first to take this step; hoped to see a confederacy of republics through North and South America, united by the strongest ties of friendship and interest; and he trusted that I would use my exertions to promote the object he so much desired.

I heartily concurred with him in the hope that all governments would resolve to adopt a measure so conformable to justice; joined with him in the agreeable anticipations of the progress of free principles of government, of the intimate union and brilliant prospects of the states of our new world. I presumed, I said, it was not necessary to bring to his mind the high interest felt by the United States in their welfare — an interest in which I deeply participated, and desired, as much as he possibly could, the happiness of our Spanish-American brethren. What would be the determination of the United States at the period of the commencement of Congress, it was impossible for me to foresee: whether they would consider it a seasonable moment for doing that which was so much desired, was a point I could not resolve.

Six months later a request came from the first Latin-American Minister ever received by the United States of America, Manuel Torres, of Colombia (see the previous chapter, on the "Pan-Americanism of Henry Clay"), for the United States to announce the Monroe Doctrine:—

> The glory and the satisfaction of being the first to recognize the independence of a new republic in the south of this continent belongs, in all respect and considerations, to the Government of the United States. The present political state of New Spain requires the most earnest attention of the Government of the United States. There has occurred a project, long since formed, to establish a monarchy in Mexico, on purpose to favor the views of the Holy Alliance in the New World; this is a new reason which ought to determine the President of the United States no longer to delay a measure which will naturally establish an American Alliance, capable of counteracting the projects of the European Powers, and of protecting Republican institutions. My Government has entire confidence in the prudence of the President, in his disposition to favor the cause of liberty and of the independence of South America, and his great experience in the management of public business.—(17th Congress, 1st Session, No. 327—Manuel Torres to the Secretary of State, Philadelphia, November 30th, 1821.)

It will be noted that this was written over two years before the Monroe Doctrine was actually declared on December 2nd, 1823.

The following extract from an instruction from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams to the first United States Minister to Colombia, Richard C. Anderson, dated May 27th, 1823, six months before the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, continues the trend of events:—

The Colombian Government, at various times, have manifested a desire that the United States should take some further and active part in obtaining the recognition of their independence by the European Governments and particularly by Great Britain. This has been done even before it was solicited. All the Ministers in the United States in Europe have been instructed to promote the cause, by any means consistent with propriety, and adopted to their end at the respective places of their residence. The formal proposal of a concerted recognition was made to Great Britain before the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. At the request of Mr. Torres, on his dying bed [he died July 15th, 1822, at Philadelphia], and signified to us after his decease, Mr. Rush was instructed to give every aid in his power, without offense to the British Government, to obtain the admission of Mr. Ravenga [see Mr. Brent's dispatch regarding Mr. Ravenga, printed above]; of which instruction, we have recent assurance from Mr. Rush that he is constantly mindful. Our own recognition, undoubtedly, opened all the ports of Europe to the Colombian flag, and your mission to Colombia, as well as those to Buenos Aires and Chile, cannot fail to stimulate the cabinets of maritime Europe, if not by the liberal motives that influenced us, at least, by selfish impulse, to a direct, simple and unconditional recognition. We shall pursue this policy steadily through all the changes to be foreseen, of European affairs. There is every reason to believe that the prepondering tendency of the war in Spain, will be to promote the universal recognition of the South American Governments,

and at all events, our course will be to promote it by whatever influence we may possess.

In this connection the following extract from a letter from Lafayette to Henry Clay, dated December 29th, 1826, is interesting:—

> How do you find Mr. Canning's assertion in the British Parliament, that he, Mr. Canning, has called to existence the new Republics of the American Hemisphere? when it is known by what example, what declaration, and what feelings of jealousy the British Government has been dragged into a slow, gradual, and conditional recognition of that independence.—(Vol. IV, page 155, Works of Clay, 1856 edition.)

From the foregoing it will be deducted that—

(1) The South Americans *asked for* the Monroe Doctrine;

(2) Their doing so gave it, from its inception, a Pan-American nature;

(3) Their asking for it furnishes an additional argument for its purely American, as contrasted with its supposedly Americo-British, origin.

(4) Such early action on the part of Latin America should not be lost sight of in present-day applications of the Monroe Doctrine.

The following quotation from a pamphlet published in 1902 by the late William L. Scruggs, formerly United States Minister to Colombia and Venezuela, supports the foregoing sentiments of Lafayette:—

It has been said and repeated often enough to gain some degree of credence, that the first suggestion of the Monroe Doctrine had an European origin. The claim is that the British Premier, Mr. Canning, suggested it to Mr. Rush, during their personal conference in September, 1823, relative to the designs of the so-called "Holy Alliance" upon the newly enfranchised Spanish-American republics.

The absurdity of this claim is too manifest for serious consideration. In the first place, the Canning-Rush conference did not take place until two months *after* the date of Mr. Adams' note to Mr. Rush nor until a month and a half after Mr. Adams' oral declarations to the Russian Minister. Hence the impossibility that the suggestion could have come from Mr. Canning and at the time and place indicated; and it has never been intimated, much less asserted, that it came from him at any time prior to that. In the second place, we have Mr. Canning's own words in refutation of the claim which, in the absence of rebutting evidence, ought to be conclusive. In a letter addressed to the British Minister at Madrid, dated December 21st, 1823 (see Stapleton's "Canning and His Times," p. 395, *Wharton's Digest*, Sec. 57), he uses this language:—

"Monarchy in Mexico and Brazil would cure the evils of universal democracy, and prevent the drawing of a demarcation which I most dread,—America versus Europe."

And further on, in the same letter, speaking of his conference with Mr. Rush, he says: "While I was yet hesitating, in September last, what shape

to give the proposed declaration and protest [against the designs of the Holy Alliance], I *sounded* Mr. Rush, the American Minister here, as to his powers and disposition to join in any step which we might take to prevent a hostile enterprise by European powers against Spanish America. He had no powers; but he would have taken upon himself to join us if we would have begun by recognizing the independence of the Spanish-American States. This we could not do, and so we went on without. But I have no doubt that his report to his Government of this sounding, which he probably represented as an overture, had something to do in hastening the explicit declaration of the President."

This letter, it will be observed, was written nineteen days after the date of Mr. Monroe's message to Congress.

The point is that Mr. Canning deliberately placed himself on record as opposed to the Doctrine enunciated in both the message and the note, and hence could not have inspired either.

CHAPTER V.

Diversions in Euscaran: A Study in Persistently Influential Heredity

IT IS a strange language, this Euscaran, or Basque; by far the most unique and distinctly interesting of all the twenty-eight tongues in which one may telephone in this great cosmopolitan city of Buenos Aires. But it is stranger still, when we come to study the Spanish settlement and colonization of the New World, called America, how these same Basques, who only comprise three per cent of the population of Spain and who have never occupied more than one and one-half per cent of its area since Spain has become a united kingdom, should have been to all Spanish America what the Dorian hive was to Greece, or New England to the United States of America. For they stretch from California to Cape Horn; and we find the Basque Elisa active in the Spanish settlement at Nootka Sound in 1789, which was as far north as the Spaniards ever tried to settle. There have been French Basques enough in Canada itself, but that is another story.

Not very long ago the governor of the northernmost Mexican province, and the mayor of Punta Arenas in Chile, the southernmost city in the world, were Basques; and it is only thirteen years since three

Basques were, all at one and the same time presidents of the Argentine Republic, Chile, and Uruguay,—Uriburu, Errázuriz, and Idiarte Borda. This coincidence merely repeated what had happened about one hundred years before, when Mendinueta was Viceroy of New Granada at the same time that Azanza was Viceroy of Mexico. As regards the explorers and discoverers, both Buenos Aires and Montevideo were founded by Basques, Juan de Garay and Pedro de Zavala; La Rioja and Jujuy were both founded by another Basque, Juan Ramirez de Velasco; Pascual de Andagoya was the first governor of the city of Panama; and Martin de Zubieta explored the Straits of Magellan in 1581. Long before this Magellan's second in command, Sebastian d'Elcano, the first captain to round the world, also came from the Basque provinces. Martin Garcia de Loyola, a cousin of the great Basque theologian, Ignatius de Loyola, who founded the Jesuit order, married a niece of the last Inca of Peru; Echegoyen was a colonial administrator in Santo Domingo; while Diego de Ibarra explored that part of Mexico which he called Nueva Vizcaya for his native land. Remember that Uruguay was also once called Nueva Vizcaya. The great river Paraná was first explored and developed by Diego Martinez de Irala and his Basques in 1548.

I really cannot agree with M. Julien Vinson (though what does he not know about the Basques?) when he

says, "Mais le cerveu des Basques est rebelle aux sciences positives." Perhaps there may be; but the exceptions almost prove the rule. I am willing to grant that there may have been many Basques — we will discuss some of them a little later on — who were noted for their literary attainments of various kinds; but nobody can convince me that when this morning's paper says that young Inocentio Mendieta, a Cuban Basque boy, is looked on with longing eyes by Manager Clark Griffith for the Washington baseball team, that there are not some Basques who are familiar with one of the greatest of modern positive sciences. Again, is not sheep-farming and sheep-raising a positive science? My friend Mr. Onagoity sells about 3,000 sheep a day to one soulless corporation or another; in fact almost all the present meat supply that we are drawing from Argentina is handled by Basques in one way or another. Ten to one it was a Basque shepherd or herdsman that took care of the cow or sheep whose meat will soon lie upon the breakfast table of the United States public in general, when it roamed in a primative condition over the pampas of the Rio Negro or of Buenos Aires province.

Is not seamanship a positive science? The great Spanish admiral, Oquendo, prominent in the first half of the seventeenth century, and Alava y Navrete, famous for his circumnavigation of the globe in 1791, as well as commander Ugarriza of the Argentine navy, who is superintending the construction of the

Argentine dreadnaught "Rivadavia" at Fore River, all of them Basques, were certainly practical sailors. "All is lost save honor," said Francis I of France, when taken a prisoner by a Basque soldier, Juan de Urbieta. Though the Basque provinces were free from military service until 1876, when they were finally and fully incorporated into the rest of Spain, they produced soldiers enough in both the Old and the New World: Zumalacarregui was the backbone of the Carlist struggle of 1833-39, while the name of Simon Bolivar — of almost pure Euscaran ancestry — needs no comment. He was not the only Basque to play a prominent part in the Spanish-American War of Independence. According to the Venezuelan historian, Aristides Rojas, at least fifty of his Venezuelan companions were Basques; while Necochea, Azcuenaga, Larrea, Urdininea, Uriondo, in Argentina, Zañartú in Chile, Oribe in Uruguay, Unánue in Peru, Urdaneta in Venezuela, and Iturbide in Mexico, were of the same stock. So were many of their opponents, as Iturrigaray, the last Viceroy of Mexico, and Goyeneche in Peru.

Finance is certainly a positive science, the Basque Mendízabal was Minister of Finance of Spain; and, while I write, the Secretary of the Treasury of the Argentine Republic, Dr. Iriondo, is another, as is Dr. Guiñazú, the City Treasurer of Buenos Aires. More than a fifth of the members of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies have Basque names. Three of the twelve

Argentine presidents since 1853 have been Basques. Let us look further north again. Manuel de Alava was in command when Nootka Sound was evacuated in March 23rd, 1795; Arrillaga was Governor of California, 1783-1814.

But you will say where are your Montts, your Comonforts, your Amats y Junients, your Guiriors, and all the rest who came from Catalonia and the ancient and very noble kingdom of Aragon? Did they not do fully as much in the New World as the Basques? Perhaps they did; but they spread over a very much greater area in Spain than did the Basques, they had a larger population and area to draw from; and for a long while they had Naples and Sicily to develop and play with. We will take them up again some day, just as the Estremadura people and the Gallegos deserve special mention, to say nothing of those from the two Castiles and Leon; but the Basques must come first; when people live on a stern and rock-bound coast, they generally make their influence felt whenever they care to emigrate.

When you have a people who speak their own language, when everybody about them has had to go to the Latin to borrow theirs, and who are proud of this unique and highly specialized method of expression of their own; who are better in defence than in attack, who are willing to take the risk of responsibility of being an emperor of the Mexicans or taking charge of a few hundred sheep on the lonely pampas,

you have one of the finest types of the modern pioneer. I think St. Francis Xavier was a typical Basque. He stopped at absolutely nothing, he wore himself out to fulfil his life purpose; yes, he died for it, on a little island off the Chinese coast in 1551, just as the four Basque priests died by the bedsides of the sick and lowly, when the yellow fever came to Buenos Aires in 1871.

Yes, the Basques specialize in coöperatively helpful charity. When the first Associated Charities was founded in the New World, the Benevolent Society of Buenos Aires, on January 2nd, 1823, the vice-president, one of the two secretaries, and five of the nine members of the executive committee were Basque ladies; and the president's mother was a Basque lady. It is high time to talk of the noble army of mothers, sisters and wives that have sailed forth from Euscaria, from the Viceroy's lady stepping down from her sedan chair in Lima or entering Bogotá in state, to Juana, or Isabela, whose husband was but a private soldier in the armies of His Most Catholic Majesty. I asked my washerwoman the other day if she were a Spaniard. "No, Señor; I am from the Kingdom of Navarre." And the Spanish part of the Kingdom of Navarre, whence good old Manuela came, had ceased to be a separate political entity exactly four hundred years ago.

You cannot have a language nowadays without a literature. We meet with the traces of a Basque

language first of all very nearly one thousand years ago, in A.D. 980. In 1881 the Spanish Jesuit scholar, Fita, discovered a twelfth-century manuscript containing eighteen Basque words; and the first Basque book was printed in 1545. In 1571 the translation of the Protestant Bible into Basque was ordered by Jeanne d'Albret; it was printed at La Rochelle. Not very long after we have the first American epic poem — the "Araucana of Alonso de Ercilla" — which was written by a Basque. Now open your Cotton Mather's "Magnalia," and read of the wonder-working providences of the Almighty in New England, or of Michael Wigglesworth's sweetly cheering words on the eternal damnation of infants in his "Day of Doom," and tell me if there is anything in the "Araucania" like that. It is dully and drily written in spots, I will admit; but we have flashes of quaint beauty throughout. The Basque Pedro de Ona's little sonnet of 1602, to the oldest American university, that of the most flourishing university of San Marcos, is like some of those old leather-backed chairs you can still buy in Cuzco or in the Bolivian highlands; it has a fragrance of prettiness with a shimmer of natural affection:—

> Sweet Fountain of Pure Water, so pure that thou chantest Victory before the Sun; with which the plants of this Antarctic Vale are bathed with Dew, and Sprinkl'd over with Freshness; Thou, who raisest thyself to the Sublime Regions, where

thy drops are holy Stars who by themselves change obscurity to Light,—

> Doubt not indeed, that from the waters clear,
> Of all thy Doctrines, and thine Healthy Rule,
> The Farthest Nations shall take Note and Hear;
> Since thou a Mark, a Philip too doth know;
> Which thine unconquerable strength to show
> Are pictured as two Lions on thy Scroll.

This has not as much swing, perhaps, as some of Echevarria's Argentine poems, where he tells of the now Vanished *gauchos*, or cowboys, of the pampas and plains,—

> Bold Quiroga compelling,
> To stay his rebelling,
> Thoughout the glad morning whilst forward they stray.

Now the language itself of these people of the mountainous northeastern corner of Spain is quite worth while. Take the root *Egui*, the truth or justice: Señor Leguia is president of Peru, while Dr. Eguiguren is chief justice thereof; Dr. Eguiara is a prominent Mexican physician; and Minister Belaustegui introduced physical training into the Argentine schools. Many Basques have tree-names, just as the Japanese have: *Yanagi*, the Willow, is a Japanese surname; and we have *Salazar* and *Sarasate*, which mean the Willow in Basque. There is no general word for animal or tree in Basque; because it is not a selfish language at all; every animal or tree has its own name. Thus, *Lizarr* is the Ash-tree; *Lizarr-aga* the Ash-wood; *Zumarr*, the Elm (as in Zumarraga, etc.); *Ur* is the Water.

A great many Basque words begin in *Ur*. Let us analyze a word with *Ur* in the middle of it,—a four-story word with a garret and cellar,—like Astaburuaga, for instance. *Asta*, or *Astur*, is the Mountain-water; *Buru* is the Head; and I really forget what *Aga* does mean. To come to land again, *Erria* or *Erri* is the Land; *Salaverry*, the Willow-land; *Echeverria*, the House and Land, etc. Look at the Belasco Theatre. What does Belasco mean? *Belia* or *Velia* is the Raven. *Belasco* or *Velasco* is the Son of the Raven. *Ochoa* or *Otsoa*, as the old spelling is, is the Wolf. They borrow and annex words, too; look at Mendiburu; *Mendi* is the Latin *Mons*, with the beautiful Basque *Buru* attached. And so we could go on all night if necessary; but who really cares to learn to read Basque, if the Spanish is printed in the opposite column? They all tell us that nobody can learn this language; His Satanic Majesty tried to, and really couldn't; but that is what the jealous people from the rest of Spain say.

"Urquidi and Urquiza stay; while noble in his pain
Urduna soothes the bloody wound that pains Urdinarrain;
The good Ellauri is gone; and jocund, gone the strain
That hung above our weary heads, like as the summer rain
Gathers and threatens ere descends, sprinkling with fertile spray
The meadow and the valley green, that clothe our Uruguay,
They turn triumphant to the toil, that beckons them before,
And holds them with their holy hope, that hears our Huspiaur."

EPITOME OF DATES
1807-1826

1807, Oct. 4—De Forest writes to Secretary Madison from Buenos Aires regarding United States interest there.

1809, Jan. 22—Spanish Royal Decree enacts that Spanish-American Colonies are an integral part of the Monarchy and can be represented in the Cortes.

Mar. 7—Thomas Sumter appointed United States Minister to the Portuguese Court at Rio de Janeiro.

1810, April 10—Venezuelan insurrection against Spain.

May 25—Buenos Aires "Cabildo Abierto."

June 11—J. V. Bolivar and Telesforo de Orea leave Venezuela for the United States.

June 28—The United States Secretary of State instructs an agent, Joel Roberts Poinsett, to visit South America, and appoints him agent for commerce and seamen at Buenos Aires.

July 7—Expedition of 1,150 patriots leaves Buenos Aires for the interior.

Aug. 26—Shooting of Liniers.

Sept. 18—The Junta de Gobierno proclaimed at Santiago de Chile.

Sept. 24—The Cabildo of Montevideo decrees the founding of a newspaper.

Oct. 27—Defeat of Balcarce at Catagaitá.

Nov. 6—Robert K. Lowry sent as United States Agent to Caracas.

Nov. 7—Argentine victory at Suipacha, under Balcarce.

Nov. —Arrival of Telesforo de Orea as Venezuelan Agent in the United States.

Nov. 28—Translation of Jefferson published in *Gazeta de Buenos Aires*.

1811, April 30—Secretary Monroe appoints Louis Goddefroy United States Consul for Buenos Aires and the ports below it on the River Plate.

May 14—Outbreak at Asuncion, Paraguay.

June 20—Battles of Juraicoragua and Huaqui.

July 4—First Chilean National Congress meets at Santiago de Chile.

July 5—Venezuelan Declaration of Independence.

July 25—Arrival of José Miguel Carrera in Chile.

Aug. 13—Rozas leaves Santiago for Concepcion, Chile.

Aug. 14—"Rules for the Temporary Organization of the Executive in Chile" published.

Sept. 4—Rozas restored to power in Chile; Supreme Court of Justice formed.

Oct. 7—It was enacted in Chile that all discussions of Congress and all acts of the Government be published.

Nov. 5—President Madison's message to the United States Congress, containing his first allusions to South American independence.

Nov. 15—William Gilchrist Miller recognized as United States Vice-Consul in Buenos Aires.

Nov. 21—Arrival of "Galloway" from New York at Valparaiso with printing-press for Chileans.

1812, Jan. —Interview of Saavedra and Aguirre, from Buenos Aires, with Stephen Girard in Philadelphia. They went from Philadelphia to Washington to see Secretary Monroe.

Mar. 13—Arrival of San Martin and Alvear and Zapiola in Buenos Aires, from Cadiz.

May 14—Secretary Monroe issues instructions to Alexander Scott, Agent to Venezuela.

May 19—Arrival of Saavedra and Aguirre at Buenos Aires from Philadelphia on the ship "Liberty."

July 4—Celebration at Santiago de Chile.

July 26—Treaty of Vittoria-Miranda and Monteverde (Venezuela).

1812, Sept. 4—Rivadavia's decree encouraging emigration to Argentina.
Sept. 26—Victory at Tucuman.
Oct. 8—Military mutiny in Buenos Aires.

1813, Jan. 31—Argentine Constitutional Assembly meets.
Feb. 10—Juan Manuel de Luca officially informs United States Vice-Consul Miller at Buenos Aires that the Argentine Government desires to initiate "commercial relations of mutual interest" with the United States of America.
Mar. 26—Royalist Army from Peru under Antonio Pareja lands at Talcuahuano.
April 1—Carrera reaches Rancagua accompanied by Mr. Poinsett.
April 4—Congress of Uruguay meets under Presidency of Artigas.
April 5—Carrera arrives at Talca.
April 15—Pareja reaches Chillan with 5,500 men. All Chile south of Maule under his control.
April 20—Chilean victory at Yerbas Buenas.
May 15—Battle of San Carlos.
July 10—Carrera begins the seige of Chillan.
July 21—The Argentine Triumvirate informs President Madison of the desirability of a "fraternal alliance which would truly unite the Americas of the North and South forever."
Aug. 4—Bolivar enters Caracas in triumph.
Oct. 1—Paraguayan Declaration of Independence ratified.
Oct. —Defeat of Carrera.
Oct. 17—Battle of Roble.
Nov. 27—Junta replaces Carrera by Belgrano at Vileapujo.

1814, Jan. 28—Proclamation of O'Higgins.
April 5—Ganeza falls back on Taca.
June 23—Montevideo surrenders to Patriot General Carlos de Alvear. End of Spanish dominion in River Plate.

1814, Aug. 10—San Martin appointed Governor of Cuyo; he resided in Mendoza.

Dec. —Bolivar appears before Bogotá.

1815, Jan. 16—Portuguese sovereignty takes title of King of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves.

Dec. 6—Spanish General Morillo occupies Cartegena.

1816, Jan. 29—Henry Clay asserts in United States House of Representatives that the United States may have to openly "take part with the patriots of South America."

Jan. 30—Pope Pius VII issues encyclical against South American independence.

Mar. —María I dies; João VI succeeds.

Mar. 25—Corps of deputies meet at Tucuman.

July 9—Argentine Declaration of Independence at Tucuman; Francia's dictatorship made perpetual in Paraguay.

1817, Jan. 17—San Martin begins the passage of the Andes with 3,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, 1,600 horses, 900 mules.

Jan. 19—Portuguese take possession of Montevideo.

Feb. 9—United states Ship "Clifton" arrives at Buenos Aires for the Argentine Government.

Feb. 12—Battle of Chacabuco.

Feb. 14—San Martin enters Santiago de Chile.

Feb. 16—Victory of Bolivar and Paez over Morillo.

July 18—John B. Prevost sent to Chile-Peru as Commissioner of the United States of America.

Nov. 21—United States Consul Halsey is dispatched on his visit to Artigas.

Dec. 2—President Monroe's message to Congress recognizes some of the revolting Spanish-American countries as belligerents.

Dec. 3—Clay's motion to inquire what was necessary to secure to the South Americans their rights as belligerents.

1817, Dec. 4—United States Commissioners Rodney, Graham, Bland, and Breckenridge (secretary) sail from Hampton Roads in U. S. Frigate "Congress" for Buenos Aires.

1818, Jan. 1—O'Higgins publishes proclamation of Chilean independence.

Feb. 18—Independence of Chile proclaimed.

Feb. 28—United States Commissioners arrive in Buenos Aires.

Mar. 25—Henry Clay's speech in the House of Representatives to acknowledge South American independence.

April 5—Battle of Maipú, Chile.

April 24—Rodney and Graham leave Buenos Aires for the United States of America.

Oct. 28—Wooster's assault on Talcuahuano.

Nov. 13—San Martin's proclamation to the inhabitants of Peru, urging the union of Argentina, Chile and Peru, and a Central Congress composed of their representatives.

Nov. 28—Lord Cochrane reaches Valparaiso.

Dec. —Rodney's and Prevost's reports sent to the United States Congress.

1819, Jan. 16—Cochrane sails from Valparaiso to Callao, Peru.

Feb. 5—Tagle-Irissari treaty between Argentina and Chile.

Feb. 15—Congress of Angostura.

Aug. 7—Battle of Boyacá.

Dec. 7—Fundamental law declaring Venezuela and Colombia to be one state.

1820, Feb. —Lord Cochrane takes Valdivia.

May 20—Henry Clay introduces motion to inaugurate diplomatic intercourse with independent South American nations.

Aug. 21—San Martin and Cochrane sail from Valparaiso.

Sept. —San Martin lands near Huacho, Peru.

Nov. 5—"Esmeralda" captured from Spaniards at Callao.

Nov. 25—Armistice at Trujillo, Peru.

1821, Feb. 6—Henry Clay secures passage of resolution that the United States feels deep interest for Spanish-American Provinces struggling for liberty.

Mar. 20—Cochrane captures Pisco, Peru.

1821, June 23—Battle of Carabobo; Bolivar's victory.

June 29—Bolivar enters Caracas.

July 6—Patriot Army enters Lima, Peru.

July 9—United States Chargé Brent, at Madrid, is interviewed there by Ravenga, Bolivar's commissioner.

July 28—Peruvian Declaration of Independence.

Aug. 9—University of Buenos Aires founded.

Ang. 30—Constitution of Colombia adopted.

1822, Mar. 8—President James Monroe recommended acknowledgement of the independence of the South American Republics by the United States of America.

April 22—Rules for elections issued from Peru by San Martin.

May 4—South American independence recognized by the United States of America.

May 14—Battle of Pichincha, Ecuador; Victory of the Patriot Army.

May 19—Iturbide crowned Emperor (Agustín I) of Mexico.

June 19—Manuel Torres received by President Monroe as Chargé d'Affaires from Colombia.

July 11—San Martin arrives at Guayaquil.

July 27-28—Interview of Bolivar and San Martin at Guayaquil.

Sept. 7—Independence of Brazil proclaimed.

Nov. 29—Cochrane resigns his commission in Chilean navy.

1823, Jan. 18—Cochrane finally sails away from Valparaiso, proceeding to Brazil.

Jan. 27—The United States of America appoints Ministers to Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, thereby recognizing those countries' independence.

1823, Feb. 26—José de la Riva Aguero appointed President of Peru.

June 8—Cæsar A. Rodney sails for Buenos Aires from Philadelphia as United States Minister.

July 16—Brazilian naval victory over the Portuguese, in Latitude 5 degrees north.

Aug. 1—Brazilian authority permanently established at Maranhao, and soon afterwards at Para. End of Portuguese dominion in Brazil.

Aug. —Rivadavia founds the first agricultural school in America on the Recoleta estate in Buenos Aires.

Aug. 10—Peruvian Congress bestows on Simon Bolivar the title of "Dictator and Liberator of Peru."

Oct. 24—Ex-President Jefferson writes President Monroe that "America, North and South, has a set of interests distinctly from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own."

Nov. 16—Arrival of Cæsar A. Rodney at Buenos Aires as United States Minister.

Nov. 18—Rodney is so recognized by Argentine Government.

Dec. 2—President Monroe's message to the United States Congress (Monroe Doctrine) containing the following statement referring to Latin America: "With the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interpretation for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any other European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

Dec. 3—Carlos de Alvear appointed Argentine Minister to the United States.

1823, Dec. 7—Bolivar issues invitations from Lima to Pan-American Congress at Panama.

1824, Jan. 20—The King of Spain abolishes the Political Constitution of the Indies by an Edict, thus placing affairs exactly as they were in 1820.

Feb. 3—Consuls appointed by Great Britain to the free Provinces of America—a year after their diplomatic recognition by the United States of America.

Mar. 25—Emperor of Brazil (Pedro I) swears to Constitution.

May. 6—The King of Spain issues a declaration that he would never consent to the independence of his former American Colonies, but that he would appeal to a Congress of European soverigns in regard thereto.

May 26—The United States of America recognizes the independence of Brazil.

June 10—Rivadavia's funeral oration over Cæsar Rodney, the first United States Minister to Argentina.

Aug. 4—The United States of America recognizes the independence or the Central American Federation.

Dec. 9—Battle of Ayacucho; Victory of Bolivar over the Spaniards.

Dec. 16—Constitutional Convention meets at Buenos Aires.

1825, Jan. 1—National Convention meets at Buenos Aires.

Jan. 23—National Constitution of Federated States of the Rio de la Plata agreed upon.

Mar. 6—Francisco de Paula Santander, President of Colombia, states that the United States should be invited to the Panama Congress "to participate in deliberations of common interest to such sincere and enlightened friends."

June —Bolivar visits upper Peru.

1825, Aug. 25—João VI abdicates crown of Brazil in favor of Don Pedro I.

Aug. —First Bolivian Congress.

1826, Jan. 11—Chilean assault on battery of San Carlos on Island of Chiloe; Freeman Oxley, a United States citizen in the Chilean navy, is killed.

Jan. 28—Surrender of the last Spanish fortress in South America—Callao—to the Peruvians.

Apr. 11—Daniel Webster's speech defending Monroe Doctrine.

May 2—The United States of America recognizes independence of Peru.

June 22-July 15—Pan-American Congress at Panama.

Sept. —Bolivar leaves Lima.

Dec. 24—"Unitario" constitution of Rivadavia adopted by Argentina.